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MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES

A Story of Revolution Intervention and War

BY

FREDERICK STARR
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Illustrated with photographs and maps

PUBLISHED BY
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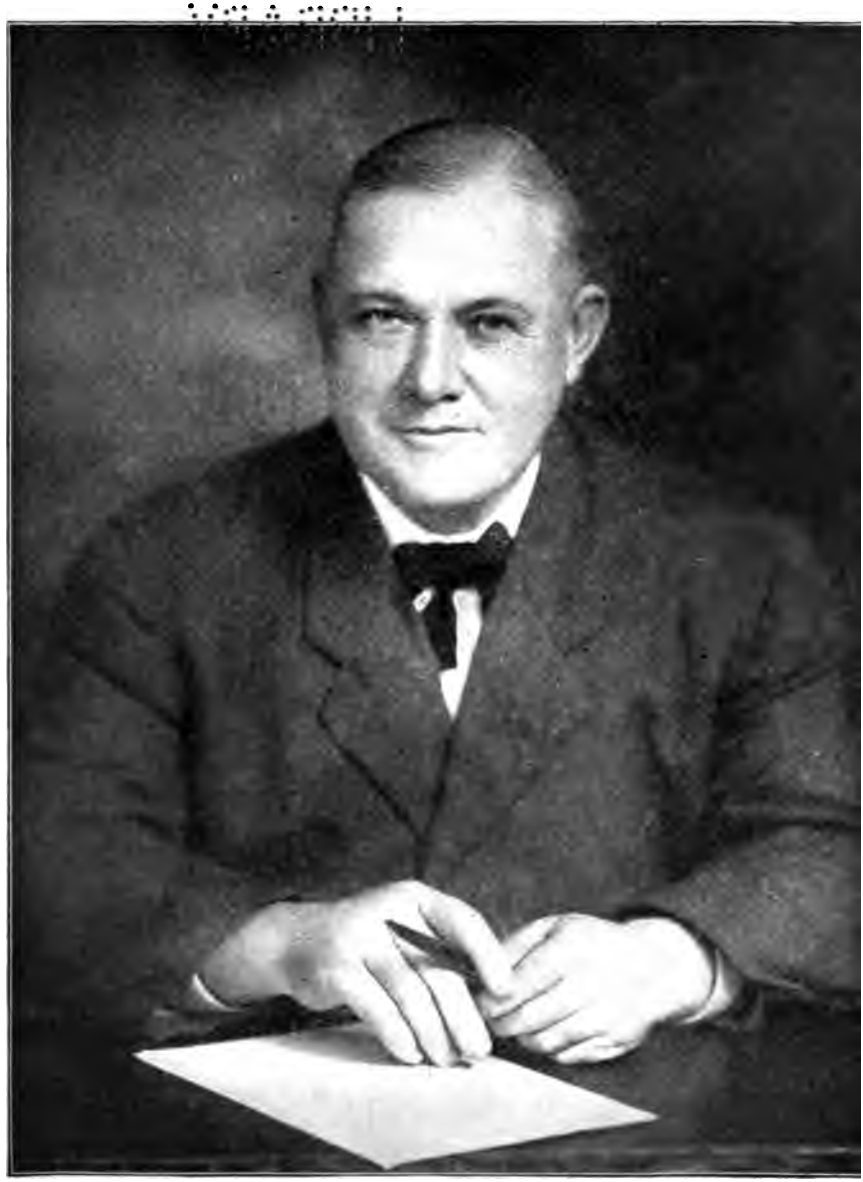

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FREDERICK STARR.

PREFACE

Asked to write a book on Mexico, I do so gladly. I know Mexico from an experience of twenty years; I love the land and people. But there are as many different Mexicos as there are observers.

This book does not pretend to be a history of Mexico. There are many such already written, and they are easily accessible. It must, however, have a thread of history running through it to connect the different stories, and to make them comprehensible. It is an effort to show how and why recent occurrences happened. It endeavors to explain why the present turmoil in Mexico, the tendency, the outcome.

The book begins with the Centennial Celebration of 1910. It marked the culmination of one hundred years of national life. It marked the beginning of a new and great political movement. It is inevitable that the speeches, books, processions, celebrations, of the month of September should produce the revolution which followed. Aquiles Serdan was the martyr whose death ushered in a new era.

Having marked the culmination of the development inaugurated by the man of iron, it is necessary to know the material from which and the foundation on which his nation was constructed. Fundamentally, the Mexican is Aztec—or similar Indian. And Aztec Mexico furnished the material for all later development. To know and understand this is fundamental. The old Indian was conquered by the Spanish soldier, but he was also conquered by the Spanish priest. Following the military and religious conquest of the country came the long period of Spain's control, the glorious century and after. The characteristic features of the social and political life of New Spain were necessarily fixed by the old Indian and the new Spanish elements. Vice-royal rule continued the divided, local, dis-

organized character of the past,—personal politics and superstitious submission to religious control. There was no unifying movement, no middle class. The very rich, the very poor, they alone were present.

With the great liberal movement of the early nineteenth century in Europe, there began a corresponding liberal movement in the New World. The story of the independence struggle abounds in interesting and romantic episodes. But it still repeats the old conditions. It was not a unifying movement. It developed no middle class. The very rich and the very poor alone remained. Leaders were impelled too often by personal ambition. Once in power, they forgot principle and betrayed their cause. With the achievement of independence a real struggle for principle emerges. Iturbide, Santa Anna, the War with the United States, Benito Juarez, Maximilian,—these words all suggest a movement in the direction of real government. Mexico was striving for better things. The common people were awaking. There was still, however, but the beginning of a middle class; there was still the curse of personal politics and a heavy burden of ecclesiasticism.

Then came Porfirio Diaz. He led his nation in material progress, and for a long period ruled in peace. He made errors, fundamental errors. His Mexico was too largely false on the outside. His schools did something; the pity is he failed to realize it. In order to create a nation of ambassadorial rank he left his people ignorant, suspicious, divided,—Indians and peons. The impressive structure which he reared fell like a house of cards. The new gospel preached by Madero led to a successful revolution.

It is particularly to the period from the time when the Diaz power tottered that this book is devoted. It is its purpose to show why Diaz failed; why Francisco I. Madero succeeded in revolution and failed miserably in government; why there have been seven or eight revolutions since 1910; why Mexico hates us; why Huerta is in power; and why we should refrain from meddling in the internal affairs of Mexico.

Mexico and the United States are neighbors; they differ from each other markedly; they represent and will continue to represent different forms of government; they may both be great nations in the future. They should be friends.

FEBRUARY, 1913—AND BEFORE AND AFTER.
BUT THERE ARE OUTRAGES AGAINST CIVILIZATION ELSEWHERE.

DESTITUTE WAITING FOR FOOD DISTRIBUTION AT ARMY HEADQUARTERS, CHIHUAHUA, JANUARY, 1914

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THE CENTENNIAL

A GREAT OCCASION—THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES—PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS—AN INSTRUCTIVE EXPOSITION—THE COMMERCIAL PROCESSION—A CURIOUS RELIC OF THE REVOLUTION—A PICTURESQUE CELEBRATION—FLAG DAY—THE MARTYR CADETS—CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS—INTERNATIONAL COURTESY—A DANGER SIGNAL.

SEPTEMBER, 1910, must long be remembered for the brilliant celebration of Mexico's Centennial. It was splendid pageantry. The world participated in it, and the world was astonished at its brilliancy. The Mexican Republic had looked forward to it, and talked of it, for years. Plan after plan had been proposed and discarded. At one time it looked as if the celebration might take the form of a great international exposition, but that idea was abandoned. It was finally decided to invite the world to come as guests for the inspection of the condition and achievement of the Republic. The Mexican Republic was desirous of proving to the visitors its claim of being a progressive and advancing nation, entitled to the respect and admiration of the sister nations of the world.

A GREAT OCCASION

An elaborate program of events to cover the whole month was worked out. Arrangements were made to receive and care for enormous crowds of visitors. A whole month of extra vacation was granted to the children in the schools that they might witness the great object lesson in national patriotism. The entire country united in the celebration. Every station on every line of railroad was decorated with draperies in the national colors, with flags, and with escutcheons. Throughout the month all trains reached the city loaded with passengers. Thousands of young fellows born from mixed parents in the United States, many of whom had never seen the country of their fathers before, came to visit the land where one or the other parent was born. Crowds of citizens from the outlying states, who had never seen the Capital, made their first trip to the great city—many times taking their first journey on a railroad train. The hotels were crowded, and no rooms were empty; crowds were turned away without a place to sleep; the price of lodging was doubled, trebled; rooms in private houses were held at staggering rates; prices of restaurants soared upward; *cocheros* considered every day a festival and collected double fares accordingly.

The city itself was in gala dress for thirty days. Bunting and flags and escutcheons were on all façades. The night illuminations were brilliant, electric lights everywhere repeating the national red, white and green, and the tinted plaster facing of the buildings lending itself admirably to the effect.

THE FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES

The first great spectacular feature was the arrival and reception of envoys from foreign lands. They had been sent by their home governments to participate in the rejoicing. Some came in grandeur in war-vessels of their national navies. In some such cases commissions of welcome went to the coast to see, to meet, and to escort them. Whether they came by sea or land,

they were officially received on entering the country. Their journey toward the Capital was a continual ovation; salutes were fired, bands played, flags were raised, bells were rung, to welcome them. Three grades of these foreign envoys were recognized—ambassadors, special envoys with rank of minister, and delegates. They came from twenty-eight different nations, Italy, Japan, the United States, Germany, China, Spain and France sent ambassadors; special envoys with rank of minister came from Honduras, Austro-Hungary, Cuba, Costa Rica, Russia, Portugal, Guatemala, Salvador, Peru, Panama, Brazil, Belgium, Chili, Argentina, Norway, Ecuador and Uruguay; delegates were sent from Switzerland, Venezuela and Columbia. The ambassadorial party from the United States, headed by ex-Governor Guild of Massachusetts, consisted of seventeen persons of whom several were ladies. Among the commissioners were Congressmen Slayden and Foster, Senator Overman and General Harrison Gray Otis. The ambassadors were received in a body by President Diaz, the function being the most stately diplomatic event in the national history. Each ambassador made a speech of congratulation on behalf of his government, and to each the President made an appropriate response. The following day a similar reception of the special envoys of ministerial rank took place. On Wednesday the national delegates were received. Each day there was military escort, band music, bunting, gay uniforms, hurrahs. Following these diplomatic receptions a splendid reception and banquet was given by the Department of Foreign Affairs to the whole body of envoys. The decoration and illumination were magnificent, the guests were resplendant in uniforms and decorations. Probably no equally brilliant social diplomatic function had ever taken place in North America.

PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS

Less spectacular were the dedications, foundings, or openings, of philanthropic and ameliorative institutions. Never since the Conquest has Mexico lacked asylums and hospitals. In

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GATHERING TUNAS, SAN JUAN DE TEOTIHUACAN—SITE OF FAMOUS PYRAMIDS—POPULATION LARGELY AZTEC—TUNAS ARE FRUIT OF THE PRICKLY PEAR CACTUS.

the vice-royal days they were generally foundations due to individual piety or to the religious orders. The story of these old institutions abounds in romance and pathos and devotion. But the new Mexico builds state establishments and utilizes in them all that science and experience of other nations offer. One by one the old hospitals and asylums and public prisons have given way to up-to-date scientific establishments. The occasion of the centennial was utilized to usher a group of them into existence. It was good policy to show the world that Mexico plans institutions upon the finest and most approved standards. The first public event upon the month's program was the dedication of the insane asylum at Mixcoac; the President of the Republic was present and performed the act of dedication. Two days later Vice-president Corral laid the cornerstone of the great general prison. Through the month other dedications and inaugurations proved to the visitors the fact that Mexico was up-to-date in the matter of public institutions.

AN INSTRUCTIVE EXPOSITION

Tending to the same demonstration was the hygienic exposition which proved singularly interesting and popular. It was open through the whole month, free to all visitors. It was complete, well arranged, attractive and instructive, and would do credit to any nation. It represented and illustrated the food-supply of cities, street and city cleaning, destruction of waste, systems of plumbing, the production and handling of food, public markets, source and transmission of disease, disinfection, isolation and care of contagious diseases, and the like. The practical value of this well developed exposition is evident when one remembers Mexico's peculiar problems of valley drainage, yellow fever, typhus, mountain water, etc. The Mexicans have always been famously skilled for modeling little figures of national types; this art was here employed in the production of groups of figures which taught their lesson even to the young and ignorant. By such groups of little figures the old crowded tenements, filthy breeding places of disease, were contrasted

with model houses for the poor; the old street-cleaning by human sweeps was contrasted with that by great street-cleaning machines; the making of *tortillas* by hand in dirty rooms devoid of furniture was contrasted with the same primitive bread-making in cleaner, wholesomer surroundings, the washing of clothes in old and neglected public *lavenderias* was compared with laundrying in one of the fine new public laundries. Great public works, as the water-supply in cities, were shown by carefully detailed models, on a scale sufficiently large to make them actual object lessons. The details of hospital management, disinfection, *lazaretos,* isolation and treatment of yellow-fever, were all shown in detail. The degree to which the common people visited this exposition was astonishing; men, women and children of the poorest class showed extraordinary quickness in appreciating its meaning. At night the little lecture-room connected with the exposition was crowded with hearers of lectures on foods and their clean treatment, cause and danger of tuberculosis, sanitary care of tenements, drinking-water, purpose and methods of disinfection, and the like.

THE COMMERCIAL PROCESSION

One hundred and twenty-five thousand persons are said to have witnessed the commercial procession. The buildings along the line of march were brilliantly draped. The procession included police and military bands, banners, laboring men, displays and floats of individuals and companies; but its chief feature was the series of allegorical floats representing industry, banking, agriculture, commerce and mining. These were masterpieces of taste and skill. In the industrial float, Industry enthroned upon a mounting sun of progress was surrounded by figures of Science, Labor and Force and artistically displayed coats-of-arms of all nations. Banking was represented by a horn-of-plenty displayed beneath a dome supported by eight pillars and surmounted by a lion; four golden lions guarded the corners of the car; the design symbolized wealth and strength in union; the names of the various banks in the capital city

appeared upon the float. Upon the agricultural car were shown Mexican laborers with implements, upon a grass field under palm-trees; at the front of the car were the four goddesses of agriculture, Flora, Fauna, Ceres, and Pomona. For commerce, Mercury was represented as alighting upon Mexico, displayed upon a terrestrial globe; four nations representing the world quarters, drove lions; female figures in front represented North and South America; other figures were those of Law, Justice, and Peace. In the float for mining the old and new mining methods were represented upon a mountain slope. A seated human figure represented mining industry; seated upon a rock, she held in her hands a cleft globe showing hidden treasure; in front female figures represented gold and silver; above the whole group was the national eagle.

A CURIOUS RELIC OF THE REVOLUTION

The personal element in politics is notable in Latin-America. These warm-blooded southerners need a name, a hero, for full enthusiasm. The National Museum treasures many an object, the only interest and value of which is personal association. Maximilian's gaudy coach-of-state and Juarez' worn and never pretentious carriage are the delight of daily visitors. In connection with the centennial celebration, the National Museum secured a new personal-association relic—ugly and unattractive in itself, but associated with the father-of-his-country, the Cura Hidalgo. It is the font from which the patriot, original leader of the revolution against Spain, hero of the event around which the whole month's celebration centered, was baptized. It is a simple wooden vessel with iron hooping and a stone support. It was brought from Cuitzeo by railroad, accompanied by a procession consisting of the parish priest, the town officials, and a member of the family of the patriot leader. It was taken from the railroad station through the city to the National Museum upon an allegorical car, to which a group of maidens dressed in white served as an escort of honor. The float was draped with the national colors above which were

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VIEW OF JALAPA, CAPITAL OF VERA CRUZ, ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL CITIES OF MEXICO. IN THE HOT LANDS.

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MARKET SCENE IN AMECAMECA. IN AN INDIAN REGION. PLACE OF RELIGIOUS PILGRIMAGE. PLACE FROM WHICH POPOCATEPETL IS BEST ASCENDED.

the sun and cap of liberty with the words, *Libertad* and *Independencia;* the floor of the car was strewn with flowers, and at its four corners were golden vases filled with roses. Behind the car and its escort marched twenty thousand school children and teachers. Crowds thronged the way, and the passage of the car called forth outbursts of *vivas.* The simple priest, unsuccessful leader of the Revolution, is better known to common Mexicans, both old and young, than any other national hero; his picture is displayed in every schoolroom and every village office. When the procession reached the entrance to the museum court, the military band played the national hymn; patriotic addresses were made by the Secretary of Public Instruction and others, as the precious relic was passed over to the permanent keeping of the museum authorities. It is said that the people of Cuitzeo went into mourning and that its old men wept at the loss of the village treasure.

A PICTURESQUE CELEBRATION—FLAG DAY

The public heart was deeply touched and the foreign guests profoundly impressed by the flag-day celebration. Six thousand school children participated. Eleven public squares were sites for the ceremony. The children were first assembled at their schoolhouses, whence they marched with music to the nearest plaza, where the salutation was made. The greatest interest of course was at the central plaza of the city, where the celebration was witnessed by President Diaz and the members of his cabinet. When they appeared upon the balcony of the national palace, they were greeted with cheers and the waving of thousands of national flags. After some music, hundreds of the smallest children, with a little flag in one hand and a bouquet of flowers in the other, advanced to the great flag which had been raised and deposited their flowers. After that, the thousands of other children advanced in orderly groups and, passing beneath the national emblem, repeated the vow of allegiance to the flag, and sang the *Song to the Banner* which had been written for the occasion. After all had saluted the flag, the army of children

sang the national hymn, all kneeling at the passage where the national land is invoked, and remaining in a kneeling position to the close of the stanza. When they arose, they waved their flags to the President with enthusiastic *vivas,* while the bells of the cathedral pealed.

THE MARTYR CADETS

On the eighth of September every year, Mexico shows honor to the memory of the martyr cadets. It is one of the simplest and sincerest outbursts of the national heart. *We* speak of the victory of Chapultepec, and the assault upon the famous rock was a deed of bravery; but the defenders were mere boys, cadets of the military school, who died in the defense of their nation. The ceremony is always pathetic and fervent; but in the centennial year it was more so than usual. The President, in full uniform as general of division, went to the monument accompanied by his military staff and his full cabinet. Each and all placed there his wreath to the memory of the martyr boys. General Otis, of the American Commission, was present, and, as he placed his wreath of flowers, said: "Although I am an American, I am a soldier before all else, and thus I pay homage to the brave boys of Chapultepec."

CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS

A notable event of the centennial celebration was the Congress of Americanists. That dignified, international body meets bi-ennially. In 1910 it held a double session, first at Buenos Aires, Argentina, then one at Mexico. The gathering includes anthropologists, ethnographers, archaeologists, geographers and historians. All are interested in American subjects, and only such are discussed. The meetings at Mexico in 1910 was attended by governmental delegates from Germany, Austro-Hungary, Costa Rica, Cuba, Japan, the United States, Guatemala, Italy, the Netherlands and Salvador, and representatives from universities and learned societies as well as by many non-official and non-representing students. Its sessions continued

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PRIMARY SCHOOL, JALAPA. THE SCHOOL IS HELD IN A TYPICAL PATIO OR INTERIOR COURT, OPEN TO THE SKY.

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AZTEC WOMEN AT WELL, AMATLAN. AMATLAN, NEAR CORDOBA, STATE OF VERA CRUZ, IS A PURELY AZTEC TOWN. THE POPULATION IS NOTED FOR ITS INDUSTRY AND CLEANLINESS.

through a week, and its program included several interesting excursions to famous ruins. The Minister of Public Instruction extended a reception to the Congress. Among the guests were distinguished foreigners, men of world reputation, brilliant in decorations. At the formal session of opening held in the famous old Mineria the address of welcome was made by Minister Sierra. The President of the Republic attended an evening session at the National Museum and welcomed the delegates.

The excursion of the Congress to the Pyramids of San Juan de Teotihuacan, which lie at about an hour's distance by rail from the City of Mexico, was especially brilliant. The Congress had a special train decorated with the national colors. The excursion was a combined courtesy to the Government Envoys and to the Congress of Americanists tendered by the Minister of Foreign Relations and the Minister of Public Instruction. Enrique C. Creel, Minister of Foreign Relations was in attendance. He is well known to Americans, having been ambassador to the United States. Most of the diplomatic visitors made the excursion, and the party numbered more than two hundred individuals. From the San Juan station the little pyramid railroad took the excursionists out to the ruins. A first-class coach had been provided for the diplomats; the members of the Congress rode on platform cars supplied with chairs. Stops were made to inspect the "painted house," the "palace"—wonderful ruins below the level of the surrounding country, stairways, plastered walls, cement floorings and an ancient well; the "pyramid of the sun" is an impressive structure with stone facing, terraces, platforms and stairways; the excursionists walked through the old "street of the dead," now called "the sacred way," to inspect a recently excavated old temple pyramid, the plastered walls of which bear paintings of fruits and flowers in colors quite fresh and bright.

But even diplomats and scientists must eat and drink, and the party passed from the museum to the cavern christened the "*Gruta Porfirio Diaz,*" in honor of the president. In that

yawning cave, in the red volcanic rock, tables had been splendidly spread, and the guests sat down to an elaborate banquet, into the make-up of which fine wines entered. Well-trained bands played national airs. At the tables sat Chinese, Japanese, Chileans, and other South Americans, Central Americans, Mexicans, Austrians, Germans, French, Spaniards, Dutch and Americans. It was an interesting, a curious, gathering. From above and outside a group of natives crowded round the opening and peered down through the rocky throat upon the gay scene, thus adding quaint picturesqueness. They were largely of Indian blood and talked Aztec. Were they descendants of the builders of the pyramids, or were those of another race? What were their thoughts as they looked down upon the eaters in the bowels of the earth? Did they think? Who knows?

INTERNATIONAL COURTESY

A striking feature of the centennial was the presentation of monuments to Mexico by other nations or by the representatives of other nations living in Mexico. Spain gave a monument of Isabella the Catholic. The Emperor William presented one of Humboldt; there was special appropriateness in the gift, as Humboldt visited Mexico, lived in the city and wrote a great work upon the politics and economics of the country—a work still quoted with reverence by Mexicans, who know nothing of more recent foreign writers about their country. France erected a monument to Pasteur, less strikingly appropriate perhaps, but graciously and gracefully presented. There were other similar gifts. We were slow in taking the idea and nationally did nothing; the American residents, however, in Mexico, promised to give a statue of George Washington. The government of Mexico accepted their offer and assigned the Plaza Dinamarca, near the American colony, as its site. The dedication of the site took place on Sunday, the eleventh of September. A simple stand had been erected and draped with the national colors of the nations. Before it, under awnings, were about 150 chairs for guests. No invitations were issued. The President and his

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MANGOES, CUERNAVACA. ONE OF THE FINEST TROPICAL FRUITS IS THE MANGO. CUERNAVACA, IN THE STATE OF MORELOS, HAS ONE OF THE FINEST CLIMATES OF THE WORLD. IT IS WITHIN THE RANGE OF ZAPATA'S CONTROL.

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STOCK OF SOMBREROS, MEXICO. THE SOMBRERO IS THE TYPICAL HAT OF THE TRUE MEXICAN.

Cabinet, the American Commission and a few guests occupied the platform. Charles R. Hudson, long in railway service in Mexico, opened the exercises. The American Ambassador, Henry Lane Wilson, made the formal address of presentation, in the course of which he expressed the hope that "the life, the deeds, the sacrifices, the wisdom and the patriotism of Washington speaking from the lips of the monument that is to be erected here, may be an inspiration and a signal to the rising generation in Mexico, as they are to the children of the Great Patriot's own land."

A DANGER SIGNAL

Far more interesting, however, than the dedication of the site of a Washington Monument, or the laying of the cornerstone of a monument to Pasteur (a function far more pretentious and brilliant than our own simple ceremony), was the spectacle we witnessed little more than a stone's throw away from the Pasteur celebration. We were on our way home from the dedication, walking through the Paseo; close by the Columbus statue in the first *glorieta,* was a dense crowd of men and women with banners, wreaths and large floral pieces. We knew that the *Circulo Michoacanense* was to honor Morelos and believed this to be their function. Loving beautiful Morelia and the Tarascan land we walked over to witness their celebration. But no—this was not the *Circulo Michoacanense.* It was quite different; it was a demonstration of "the opposition." For the most part, it was a band of common working people, men and women; there were, however, a number of well-dressed men among them. Their conduct was irreproachable. From their banners we saw that they represented various anti-reëlection societies. One tall, spare, nervous woman bore a banner of red silk, of the anti-reëlection league—"the Daughters of Cuauhtemoc," a stirring name when one remembers the inflexibility with which the last great chief of the Aztecs endured the torture of the Spanish conqueror. One banner was decorated with the portrait of the dogged and persistent Indian president whose name

just now is on many tongues—Benito Juarez; an anti-reëlection league bears his name. There was a white banner with the words *Ley Constitucional de 1857* (Constitutional Law of 1857). There was no time to look at other banners in detail, as the groups carrying their beautiful floral pieces and a dozen or so banners, began to sing the national hymn before they should march and deposit their offering in memory of the patriot fathers. Castro, chief of the mounted police, face flaming and sword raised, rode into the party upon his horse, in a rage demanding, "Who is leader here?" There was no response and he ordered his men to disperse the crowd. The band stood firm, secure in their constitutional right of peaceable assembly. A charge was made, and the mounted police rode into the party raising their swords and threatening, while a cordon of foot police closing in, cleared a great circle and kept back the crowd. The floral pieces were dropped in a heap and some of the banners; but most of the standard-bearers clung to their ensigns. The band was dispersed, but almost instantly closed in again, crowding around the ruins of their celebration. Again the mounted police charged and broke them down; again it took but a moment to reform, but at a little distance. Again and yet again the same thing happened, but at last the little party dwindled away. The police bundled a bunch of banners into a coach and bore them off in triumph. Some of the league leaders, among them the bearer of the banner of the Daughters of Cuauhtemoc, were taken off to Belem prison. The heap of floral pieces lay neglected in the middle of the driveway with a single banner upright in it, bearing the words, *Ley Constitucional de 1857,* as if in derision. A decent-looking young fellow wearing an anti-reëlection badge, seeing me looking at the heap, said, "*Un monumento, Senor, a nuestra independencia.*" ("A monument, sir, to our independence.") In reality, talking as a democrat and a republican, are not two terms too long for any president? May we never seen one serve more! for no man is good enough to serve an actual republic, where a democratic spirit lives, so long.

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WATER-SELLER, GUANAJUATO. ONCE A COMMON SCENE, NOW RARE. THE CITY IS NOW SERVED BY WATERWORKS.

EXECUTION OF PRISONER.

THE CENTENNIAL, CONTINUED

THE HUMBOLDT MONUMENT—THE EDITORIAL GUESTS—THE NATIONAL HOLIDAYS—CIVIC PROCESSION—HISTORICAL PAGEANT—THE GRITO OF INDEPENDENCE—THE MILITARY PARADE—JAPANESE EXPOSITION—SPLENDID ILLUMINATION—TORCH-LIGHTS AND CHORUS—A CITY OF MONUMENTS—NEW NATIONAL UNIVERSITY—A TRIO OF SENTIMENTAL FUNCTIONS—THE PRESIDENT IN THE CENTENNIAL—THE COST OF CELEBRATION.

THE City of Mexico is notable for its public monuments. To these was added during the celebration of the centennial a monument of Baron von Humboldt. Wherever the Germans go in Latin America they prosper. They conform so far as may be necessary to local custom and prejudice, and thus establish substantial business houses and gain a powerful influence. In Mexico no other foreign "colony" has so strong

a hold on government and society as the German. When the German residents act as a body the affair is always notable.

THE HUMBOLDT MONUMENT

The monument of Alexander von Humboldt was a direct present to the Mexican nation from the German emperor. The site assigned for it was a most happy one at the corner before the fine old monastery building which serves as the national library. The ceremony of the unveiling of the statue had been indefinitely announced to take place in the forenoon, and by 10 o'clock a crowd had gathered; by 11 the place was jammed; by 12 it was a surging and pushing mob—though a good-natured one. Probably not one in twenty of the crowd that stood there jostling in the hot sunshine knew or cared what was taking place. There was indeed some query as to *why* the monument? who Humboldt was? whether he was a Mexican? a general? When he was declared to be a German some wanted to know whether there was a difference between the Germans and the *"Gringos Americanos."* It was with difficulty that the police now and then opened a passage for man or vehicle through the crowd. Occasionally a *"bola"* of ragamuffins formed, and by sheer weight-strength, for fun, forced its way through the struggling mass. When finally at noon the German Ambassador and a committee from the colony arrived with an escort of 200 marines from the German man-of-war, the crowd went into ecstasy, and a wave of *vivas* followed them. Other delegations arrived in coaches, then the cabinet, and last of all President Diaz heralded of course by the national hymn. The President was received at the door of the library building and conducted to the platform. The German chorus of male voices sang some selections, and after some preliminary speeches, the Ambassador made the formal address of presentation. In it he said: "Marble upon granite, symbolizing the purity of our sentiments and the strength of our friendship." The Governor of the Federal District, Guillermo de Landa y Escandon, responded, accepting the gift on behalf of

the nation. The party then marched to the foot of the curtained statue where at 1 o'clock the President drew the cords and displayed the figure to the crowd which burst into a roar of enthusiastic *vivas;* at the moment when the curtain fell away, flags of Germany and Mexico were run up. The party was then whirled away to an elegant champagne luncheon given by the German residents, where toasts were drunk, speeches made, and a young nephew of the Kaiser, imported for the occasion, was lionized. In the evening there was a special rendering of Lohengrin at the theater. The statue itself is a fine piece of work in pure white marble; the standing figure represents a man in the youthful prime of life. We are so used to seeing the representation of the great scientist as an octogenarian that this youth comes as a shock; but it is quite appropriate, as the Humboldt who lived here in Mexico and wrote the Political Essay on New Spain was a young man. His work was written a century ago, and his studies here were made in the vice-royal days before the *grito* of independence was sounded. The pedestal of granite bears the inscription—The German Emperor to the Mexican Nation.

THE EDITORIAL GUESTS

The arrival of the American editorial party was one of the important events of the week. The bringing of the party into existence was due to the energy and effort of Paul Hudson, manager of the Mexican Herald, a well edited paper. Mr. Hudson went to meet the party and brought it to the city by a special train. Four of the editors were Canadians, thirty-seven, Americans. They were well treated en route, stopping at Guanajuato and Queretaro where much attention was shown them. In the capital city they were feted and shown the sights. All of them were live men, and among them were Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican, Victor Murdock—insurgent, of the Wichita Eagle, Victor Rosewater of the Omaha Bee, Hamilton Holt of the Independent, Arthur W. Page of the World's Work. Every opportunity was given to these gentlemen to

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STRAWBERRIES, IRAPUATO. IN IRRIGATED FIELDS THE FRUIT IS PRODUCED AND SOLD EVERY DAY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

see as much of Mexico as their time permitted. They were "steered" of course and saw only what was most favorable; they went away greatly impressed by the marvelous development which has taken place under Porfirio Diaz. It was believed that their visit would tend to make Mexico better known throughout the United States.

THE NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

The culmination of the celebrations of the month took place upon the national holidays—the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth. The fifteenth is the anniversary of the birth of Porfirio Diaz, he being then eighty years old; the sixteenth is the anniversary of the birth of the nation, then one hundred years old.

CIVIC PROCESSION

On the fourteenth was the Civic Procession in which about twenty thousand people were in line; the parade took an hour and a half in passing the reviewing balcony of the President at the Palace. Everything under heaven participated in it—all sorts and conditions of men, women and children; there were brilliant uniforms, there were frock coats and high hats, there were the daily costumes of ordinary labor, all in line. The participants were grouped in divisions and marshalled and labeled. Of course there were police and city fathers, congressmen and judges, and a horde of bureau clerks and officers; it could not else have been a civic procession. There were processions of school children and teachers, professional men of every grade, and representatives of scientific and literary organizations. There were students from schools, among whom a band of Chinese boys attracted great attention. Wonderfully popular were the marines from the German Ambassador's suite and a considerable body of marines from the Argentinan man-of-war, *Presidente Sarmiento.* There were groups from many parts of the republic, arranged in the alphabetical order of their local provenance, but the only one attracting *marked* attention was that from Campeche in characteristic rural dress and wearing

great *sombreros.* There was a division showing representatives of the press, and the independent press was conspicuously non-represented; only *El Paladin* was there; neither *El Mexicano, El Constitucional, El Progreso Latino, La Republica, El Diario del Hogar, Lealdad, El Ciudadano,* or *El Padre Padilla* was in line. This fact is much too significant to be forgotten. Trades were represented in the labor organizations. All of these groups carried floral pieces, some large and elaborate, others more simple, while the great majority of individuals in the procession carried bouquets or loose flowers. Mexico is the land of flowers. One of the fine features in the Mexican character, from the Indian side of their ancestry, is the love of flowers and the lavish and artistic employment of them in public celebration. The old Aztecs on festive occasions made bowers and arches of flowers; the miserable Indians of Oaxacan villages today, on the rare occasions when their archbishop makes a pastoral visitation—carried in a chair on human shoulders—flock to meet him on the road and almost bury him in flowers; and the Mexicans of cultured Mexico, from the meanest *peon* to the grandest of the land, love to lay flowers at the feet of the "heroes." For, to lay flowers at the feet of the "heroes" is the end and purpose of this great outpouring of thousands of human beings. At the great Plaza the two approaches to the Cathedral were bordered by two lines of soldiers drawn up on guard. After passing in their line of march through the parade streets of the city, the marchers entered the Plaza, and passed around the Zocalo, past the Palace, where they were reviewed by the President and his guests, to the Cathedral, where the floral offerings were taken from them and carried through the lines of guards into the Cathedral, where they were laid before the urns containing the ashes of the "heroes."

HISTORICAL PAGEANT

On the morning of the fifteenth the Historical Procession took place, a brilliant pageant. It consisted of three parts—representing the three great periods of Mexico's romantic

history—Conquest, Vice-royalty and Independence. The first reproduced the famous meeting of Cortes and Montezuma on the seventh day of November, 1519. In its make-up 839 persons were employed; two parties were represented—Montezuma and his Indians, Cortes and his Spaniards. For the first party actual Indians had been brought in from outside villages; they had been kept in the city for weeks and carefully trained in their parts. Great care and much study was made that details of dress, standards, war equipment, weapons, utensils, etc., might be historically true. Servants, messengers, warriors, priests, chiefs, and Montezuma ("the chief of men") were all represented. In the Spanish group of Cortes and his soldiers, the Indian woman Malintzin (or Marina) was conspicuous with her attendants. The "chief of men" was borne in his elegant litter, while the Spanish war-captain rode his famous gray. When the procession reached the Plaza, the two parties separated, and passing by different sides of the Zocalo, met before the Palace, where President Diaz and his guests viewed the tableau. Cortes dismounted from his horse, Montezuma descended from his litter, and they exchanged characteristic salutations and made presents to each other. The second scene was drawn from Vice-royal times, say about 1740. It reproduced the pageant of those days known as the *Paseo del Pendon,* which was annually celebrated on the thirteenth of October, the date of the Conquest. The reproduction of this favorite pageant of 200 years gone by was curiously interesting and brilliant. Two hundred and eighty-eight persons participated in the production, including the Alfarez on horseback with a *pendon* (banner), the Alcaldes, Regidors, Alguacils, Oidors, and the Vice-roy himself. The third scene consisted of five handsome allegorical cars divided by a brilliant procession—the whole commemorating heroes and incidents of the Revolution and Independence. The procession represented the entry of the "Army of the Three Guarantees" under Augustin de Iturbide; it was a magnificent spectacle, far too brilliant, for there has surely never been a time since 1810 when any army of Mexico has been so splendidly uniformed.

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CUTTING SUGAR CANE, ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC. AMERICAN PLANTATIONS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED ALL OVER THIS REGION.

The five allegorical cars were presented by as many states. The first, to the glorification of the Cura Hidalgo, was furnished by the State of Hidalgo; the second, to the honor of Morelos, by the State of Michoacan, the capital of which, Morelia, commemorates the hero's name; the third allegorized the defense of Chapultepec by the cadets of the military academy and was given by Vera Cruz; the fourth was given by the State of Tabasco; the fifth by Colima.

THE GRITO OF INDEPENDENCE

The event of the year for the common Mexican is the giving of the *grito* on the night of September fifteenth. Never perhaps was there a greater crowd in the Plaza than on that night in the centennial year. The great square was crowded by 8 o'clock; long before 11 it was a mass of humanity so tightly packed that one could scarcely find his way through it. The night was cold, but people perspired and fainted and swooned from heat and lack of air. One could not fall in such a crowd; some, weary, slept on foot. The front of the Palace was a splendor of lights and its every window-balcony and hundreds of seats upon the roof, were occupied by the president's guests. The lovely illumination of the Cathedral towers and of the façades of the other buildings fronting on the Plaza, shed a clear light upon the crowd. To pass the time and keep the people good-humored, fireworks were discharged—set pieces and flights of rockets, bombs and fire-pots. As 11 o'clock approached, all eyes were fixed upon the central window-balcony where the President and his particular guests had long been seated, looking out upon the brilliant scene and the surging mass of humanity. At that hour the President arose and stepped forth with the flag of the nation in his hand; waving it, he gave the *grito: "Viva Mexico, Viva Libertad, Viva la Republica."* At once the great bells of the Cathedral clanged, and then all the bells of all the churches. Pandemonium reigned. *"Bolas"* were formed everywhere; bunches of from a half dozen to fifty boys and young men ran through the streets, cheering, howling, hooting, blowing paper

horns, doing every ridiculous thing that struck their fancy. This was kept up for hours in the brilliantly lighted city streets.

THE MILITARY PARADE

On the sixteenth took place the great annual Military Parade. The Ambassadors, the Cabinet, the President, hastened in automobiles or carriages from the dedication of the Statue of the Independence to the Palace for review. The procession took more than two hours in passing any given point and was the greatest of the kind ever held in Mexico; it differed from its predecessors by the presence of marines from other nations—German, French, Argentinan and Brazilian. The cadets led; then came the foreign marines; then the infantry, the artillery and the regular cavalry in order; at the end came that which always most stirs Mexican enthusiasm—the *rurales,* or mounted country force. The *rurales* are well mounted and good riders; they wear the characteristic *charro* costume—gray felt *sombreros,* square-cut buckskin jackets and close-fitting trousers, all bright with silver braid. The metal helmets and drooping plumes of other soldiers may be fine and new, but they are not typically Mexican, and the common man in the pressing crowd knows it right well; the *charro, sombrero* and the silver braid belong to Mexico, and at every annual procession of the military stir the heart and call forth a wave of *vivas* as nothing else.

JAPANESE EXPOSITION

Very early in the centennial celebration the Japanese Exposition was opened. It was kept open almost continuously through the month, only closing occasionally for a day that new exhibits might be installed. It was housed in a very ugly building variously known as the Iron Hall or Crystal Palace, near the Buena Vista railroad station. Ugly the building is, but not badly adapted for exhibition purposes. The exposition did much to interest the two nations in each other, and its existence was symptomatic of growing relations between the two countries. Its opening was made a great social event.

nt and Mrs. Diaz, cabinet officials, resident and
mats, and the society of Mexico were guests, while
Charge d'Affaires and his lady, and representa-
Exposition Company were hosts. There were music
s, inspection of exhibits and a champagne luncheon
the President and the Japanese representative ex-
pliments. Time was, in the days before *we* were
there were definite relations between Mexico and
he sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
th the Philippines was developed, and Mexico was
oint between Spain and the Islands. Japanese and
ls were brought back in the old galleons; Mexican
went to convert the pagan lands. There are few
ic features in history than those of this old contact.
olution and Independence of Mexico interrupted
ns, and for a long time Japan and Mexico barely
her. Relations have recently again been resumed.
orers have been imported to assist in developing
ources, and notwithstanding a momentary opposi-
tinue to be brought in; a Japanese steamship line
cio with Guaymas, Manzanillo, and Salina Cruz;
developing. All this renders the Japanese Exposi-
nt. Its commercial aspect was much too evident;
ought together were hardly a fair showing of good
de. There was carved wood furniture—after
ion—china and porcelain, carved ivory, lacquer—
no knows and loves Japanese art industry, the show
inting. Still it attracted attention, and visitors
charged to keep out the "agglomeration," were
d all bought something.

SPLENDID ILLUMINATIONS

illuminations through the month were magnificent.
thoroughfare, Plateros-San Francisco-Avenida-
brilliant every night, as were the streets parallel-
er side; the central square, the Plaza Mayor, upon

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INDIAN MARKET, AMECAMECA. IN THE VILLAGE CHURCH IS THE FAMOUS MIRACULOUS IMAGE OF CHRIST.

which they end, was splendid. The Plaza is the heart of Mexico; it was the market-place, the gathering-point and temple-site of the old Aztec city. At either entrance to San Francisco-Plateros was an arrangement of festooned lights like a canopy; seen from a distance, it gave the impression of great crimson curtains set in, and pendent from gold. Between these canopies, on both sides of the street, shops and business houses vied with each other in brilliant and striking combinations. The street is not wide, and the buildings (from three to five stories) are remarkably uniform in height, and not too high. This narrowness of street and uniformity and lowness of buildings combined to give a compactness and density to the illumination. The setting of poles bearing esutcheons, national colors and strings of lights, at regular intervals, brought the whole mass of illuminations, varied though they were according to individual caprice and fancy, into a harmony that is lacking in our own finest displays. While strings and lines of plain lights were the foundation in all combinations, green and crimson were scattered in to give the national colors. Here and there a store-front blazed with the national flag, or coat-of-arms in colors, with the lights so closely set as to give the effect of a gem-studded surface. Now and then a corner building presented a resplandor. The great Plaza was like fairy land. The famous Cathedral occupies one side, the long low National Palace another, the Municipal Building and business houses, both with *portales*, fill the other two. The Municipal Building, recently renovated, remains true to old Mexican standards in character, with pillars and decorated work, and lends itself to illumination as if constructed for the purpose. In the National Palace lines of lights marked out each window-balcony and doorway, a resplandor was placed above the famous bell of the president's balcony, and a brilliant star-rosette was placed about each window-space along the roof-line; these star-rosettes were arranged alternately at two levels. But the cathedral was the most glorious sight; its graceful towers were trimmed along each curve with plain lights amid which just enough green and crimson were tipped in to

suggest the tri-color; at the base of one tower gleamed, *1810 Libertad* at the base of the other *1910 Progreso*. Behind and to the right of the cathedral rose the graceful and slender tower of a neighboring church all outlined in blue. The effect against the night sky was weirdly beautiful. After passing from the Palace through San Francisco-Plateros at the beginning of Avenida Juarez, a change was necessitated by the conditions. Here the thoroughfare widens, and buildings occupy but one side of the street; the other borders the famous Alameda—one of the finest park groves in America. Here the whole system of lighting had to be changed. The lines of regularly spaced poles, with escutcheons and colors, continued; from them were stretched across the wide street pairs of diagonal strings of lights crossing in the middle. The effect of these many intersecting diagonals was that of a continuous star-studded awning stretching for blocks. It was worth while to walk under this, from beginning to end, in order to see the illumination of the new building of the Department of Foreign Relations. It is a building of stone, two stories and a half in height, elegantly simple and plain, save that the upper half-story façade is adorned with allegorical statues, full figures. At the middle point of the cornice is the national eagle. The whole façade of the building is illuminated by one of those new ghostly lights—uranium perhaps; its source is concealed, and the light is thrown upward by reflectors, so that the whole façade of the building, figures and eagle included, is bathed in a lovely shimmering blue-green light like the phosphorescence of the night waves of tropic seas;—all but the upper line of the cornice, which is of a rich amber-yellow.

TORCH-LIGHTS AND CHORUS

In the Torch-light Procession of the nineteenth it is said that ten thousand persons carrying banners and paper lanterns were in line. Every one considered it a novelty for Mexico, and was a great hit; after the marchers had been reviewed dent Diaz at the Palace, a band struck up the nati

hymn and a chorus of one hundred voices sung to its accompaniment. The crowd of thirty thousand took up the song. It is claimed that this great choral was unpremeditated; it was most impressive. But neither torch-light procession or vast volume of song are new to that historical spot; there is no new thing under the sun, and history repeats itself. In old pre-Conquest days, at the end of every particular cycle, the Aztecs poured out from their City of Mexico, Tenochtitlan, to the "Hill of the Star" at Ixtapalapa, where a propitiatory sacrifice was made and the gods answered by sending "new fire." The host of people had carried unlighted torches with them from the city and, kindling these by the new fire, returned with their blazing torches to their homes. *That* must have been a sight! paper lanterns are a poor substitute for blazing resin. So too, in the Aztec times, on market days, when the *plaza* was crowded, some one would strike up a well-known song, others and then others joined in, until at last thousands were swept away by the intoxication of song.

A CITY OF MONUMENTS

Mexico has long been a city of monuments; some of these are famous works of art. During the Centennial it was adorned with many new ones, gifts from foreign friends, and two by national appropriation. The Paseo de la Reforma, the famous pleasure-drive, was planned by Maximilian. It extends for about two miles in a straight line and ends at the famous hill, Chapultepec, upon which are the president's palace and the government Military Academy. At the beginning of this handsome driveway is the equestrian statue of Carlos IV, commonly called the *caballito* (little horse) or the *caballo de Troja* (horse of Troy). By whatever name called, it is a notable bronze, cast at a single throw. The Paseo is broken at six points, equally spaced, by fine glorietas, each of which is to be occupied by a monument. Two have already long been occupied—the first by a good Columbus, the other by a universally admired Cuauhtemoc (last of the Aztec rulers). The fourth glorieta is

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ZAPOTEC INDIANS AT HOME. THESE WOMEN ARE FAMOUS FOR BEAUTY OF FORM AND FACE.

now occupied by the monument of the Independence, dedicated on September sixteenth in the presence of the Government and all the foreign ambassadors. The shaft, rising to a height of forty-five meters, twenty-three meters and more above the great pedestal, surmounted by a golden figure, is a conspicuous object to a great distance. Bronze statues occupy the four corners of the pedestal, and many figures of the heroes in the national history are grouped together here. This great work is a national monument, erected at the general cost. So too is the monument to the great Juarez, dedicated on the eighteenth. It is a notable work. Fronting the Avenida Juarez, it has the dense foliage of the Alameda for a background.

The figure of Juarez, being crowned by allegorical figures, caps the center of the colonnade; the whole is constructed of white marble and 1,347 blocks, each weighing nine tons, were used in its construction; the total cost of this memorial was close to 300,000 *pesos*.

NEW NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The new National University opened its doors during the centennial celebration. In 1553, almost seventy years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, the old university of Mexico was founded. Students flocked to it. The occasion of its opening has been described in history. It was a notable school, patterned upon the ancient University of Salamanca, then the equal of any. It did a great work; it had a checkered career, and at last passed out of existence. The opening of the new university was a notable occasion. For sponsors and pattern it took three great schools—Paris, Salamanca, and California. President Diaz, the Cabinet, and visiting diplomats were present. Official delegates represented the Universities of Paris, Berlin, Stockholm, Oviedo, and Oxford. In the list of American institutions sending accredited delegates were, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Syracuse, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Columbia, Northwestern, Illinois, Washington (St. Louis), Texas, and California. Minister Sierra made a notable address, and speeches

were made by many of the delegates, that of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler being particularly happy. At the ensuing banquet American college yells were given for Mexico and Sierra. The new university will include a full complement of colleges and professional schools.

A TRIO OF SENTIMENTAL FUNCTIONS

Three curious diplomatic functions took place toward the close of the centennial celebration. General Polavieja, the special ambassador from Spain, brought President Diaz, as a gift from King Alfonso, the famous and much prized Order of Carlos III. The President's uniform already blazed with decorations, and one more or less might seem to be a matter of small importance. But this one came from the mother-country, and the founding of the order goes back to vice-royal days, 1771; so sentiment and history were mingled in the courtesy and honor of the gift. The ceremony was an impressive one and took place below the historic portrait of Carlos III presented by the King himself to the old San Carlos Academy of Fine Arts, of which he was the founder. More curious, but also full of sentiment, was the occasion when the French Ambassador, Lefaivre, gave President Diaz the keys of the City of Mexico! Half a century ago, when in occupation of the city, it seems the French forces really took the ceremonial golden keys; these were carried to France where they have been preserved. Their return was made a military function, all the actual participants being in uniform. After receiving the keys, the President handed them to the Governor of the Federal District, who, in turn, gave them to the head of the city council. The most curious of this trio of sentimental courtesies was the return of the uniform of the revolutionary hero, Jose Maria Morelos. General Polavieja was the representative of Spain on the occasion. He was escorted to the Palace, where the ceremony was held, by a group of cadets and *aspirantes*. In the procession the uniform was carried upon a gun-carriage, in a box made expressly for the occasion; General Polavieja followed; then came the spe-

cial ambassadors. Morelos was one of the most interesting characters in Mexican history; like Hidalgo, he was a priest; he was perhaps the most vigorous and aggressive of all the revolutionary heroes. Captured by the Spaniards, he was first tried by the Inquisition and degraded from the priesthood; then, turned over to the Spanish authorities, he was sentenced to death and shot in December, 1815, at San Cristobal Ecatepec. His uniform was kept by the Spaniards, after the execution, and was treasured in a Spanish artillery museum until this favorable opportunity presented itself for disposing of it to the advantage of sentiment and the knitting of friendly ties.

THE PRESIDENT IN THE CENTENNIAL

Nothing more impressed visitors from other lands than the vigor and endurance of President Diaz—now eighty years of age—in the whirl of celebrations. He was frightfully imposed upon and was made to be present at and to participate in many events from which he might have been spared. He attended scores of functions, made responses many and happy, participated in processions, endured daily banquets and balls. Many a younger man would have been worn out, but he stood it finely. His name is Porfirio (porphyry) and curiously, his mother was Petrona (rock). Rock, son of rock, he showed himself.

THE COST OF CELEBRATION

It is said that the governmental expense for the centennial celebration was fifteen or sixteen million *pesos*. It is a goodly sum—one *peso* for each man, woman and child in the Republic; and common men, women and children there are very poor. Had they their money's worth for their outlay? If the celebration embodied appreciation of the principle for which the heroes fought, if it emphasized the blessings of freedom, if it increased respect for the National Constitution and kindled sound patriotism, it was cheap at that price.

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TAPPING RUBBER. ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC. WHILE RUBBER HAS BEEN CHIEFLY PRODUCED FROM WILD TREES, CULTIVATED TREES ARE BEGINNING TO YIELD.

MADERO AND HIS REVOLUTIONARY HELPERS. NO. 3 IS FRANCISCO I. MADERO.

AQUILES SERDAN

A BAD GOVERNOR—AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE—BUTCHER CABRERA—ARNULFO ARROYO INCIDENT—A STORY OF CABRERA—THE FIRST OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION—THE SEARCH; DEATH OF CABRERA—THE BATTLE OF SANTA CLARA STREET—CARMEN SERDAN—THE CAPTURE OF THE SERDAN HOUSE—THE HIDDEN LEADER—JOY IN PUEBLA—A PENDENT TO THE CENTENNIAL.

OF all bad Governors in Mexico, Mucio P. Martinez perhaps was the worst. For years the people had appealed to Porfirio Diaz for relief. But Martinez was the friend of Porfirio Diaz; more, Puebla, though glorious in his career, was always a dangerous ground for Porfirio Diaz, and he felt that there he must maintain a man of iron.

A BAD GOVERNOR

In Mucio P. Martinez the great dictator had such a man. Nothing better shows the long-suffering disposition of the common Mexican that the fact that Mucio P. Martinez was not assassinated. He was a gentleman—a man of manners, taste, and with many good ideas along the line of material progress. But he was a man absolutely without heart and sympathy. He was a grafter, gained enormous wealth during his term of office, and invested his ill-gotten gains with such wisdom that they returned him a large income. He was a master in devising methods of bleeding his people. There was a time when he coined blood-money by levying a personal tax upon every pound of meat eaten by the people of his state. He was hated, of course. Nor was hatred confined to the Governor himself; it was extended to his son, whose lawless brutality was indulged unchecked because no one dared to interfere with the son of the chief officer of the state. The common people told hideous stories of his wild doings.

AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE

The City of Puebla, the third in the Republic, has a population perhaps of 95,000 people. At one time there was talk of its being the seat of the centennial celebration. The scheme was one of exploitation; it meant corruption, blood-money, graft; fortunately it failed of accomplishment—going too far. But in connection with the centennial important public works were undertaken. A hospital costing, it is said, a million *pesos,* was built and dedicated, and an insane asylum one-third as costly. Surely these things were creditable? There are two ways of looking at such things. If these two public buildings had been constructed *honestly* at that expense, they would have been curses rather than blessings in a city of 95,000 people. A city of that size has no use for a hospital costing one million *pesos.* A state with the population and resources of the State of Puebla ought not to have an asylum for the insane costing three hundred thousand *pesos;* the construction of such asylums levies a burden which tends to fill

them—but they are not needed under normal circumstances. But, of course, these buildings were not honestly constructed; it is doubtful whether the half of their cost was legitimately applied. There was large money for some one out of these improvements. And the city of Puebla, instead of feeling thankful for its splendid public institutions of philanthropy, groaned the more under the burden of taxation.

BUTCHER CABRERA

Besides the Governor, his son, graft, and taxation, Puebla had Miguel Cabrera; and Miguel Cabrera was hated also. He was chief of police of Puebla. He had been one of the jailer's force in the City of Mexico. He became famous in connection with the Arnulfo Arroyo incident. In 1897, when the celebration of September 16th was taking place, President Diaz was passing between the double file of cadets from the military school, drawn up in line upon Avenida Juarez.

ARNULFO ARROYO INCIDENT

A man from the crowd, named Arnulfo Arroyo, a habitual drunkard and at that time under the influence of drink, stepped out into the open space and struck the President a blow on the head with his clenched fist. He was probably unarmed, and his attack produced no damage to the president's person. He was seized of course and carried off to jail; in the afternoon the judge ordered his appearance in court for examination. The jailer refused to send him, claiming that a riot would be sure to take place and an assault made upon the prisoner. When night came, however, the police inspector, named Velasquez, ordered four men, among whom was Cabrera, to assassinate the prisoner. At 11 o'clock at night they entered the cell and carried out their orders. During that night a number of persons passing through the streets near the police inspector's office were arrested. In the morning the announcement was made that a group of people from the city had assaulted the police office and lynched the prisoner, and it was claimed that the score or so of innocent

passers-by who had been arrested were guilty of the crime. The government did not believe the story, ordered the persons who had been detained set at liberty, and instituted a case against the police mentioned. The inspector, as soon as the case was instituted, committed suicide, shooting himself; the four policemen were tried and condemned to death. In their defense they urged the excuse that they had killed the unfortunate Arroyo to show their indignation at his attempt and their affection for the president. Notwithstanding that they had been sentenced to pay the death penalty, they were never punished; Cabrera, who seems to have been conspicuous in the deed of murder, was soon transferred to Puebla, where he was made chief of police. There he soon made himself profoundly hated. The city reeked with hideous stories of his brutality and criminal acts. He was commonly known as "Butcher Cabrera."

A STORY OF CABRERA

Among the stories is one connected with this title. It is said that, on one occasion, Miguel Cabrera, riding through the streets, encountered a group of children at play; among them was a child less than ten years of age who, as the great man passed, said to the others, "There goes Butcher Cabrera." It is probable that he had never heard the man called by any other name; it is likely enough he thought it was his real name. However that may be, Cabrera ordered the whole group of children taken to the jail; the rest were released the following morning, but the child who had mentioned him was never seen again; his mother sought him day by day, but found him not. The people believed that again Cabrera visited a cell at midnight; that again he committed murder upon a defenseless prisoner, but this time a child of less than ten, whose only crime was speaking of "Butcher Cabrera." It makes little difference whether such stories are true or not, so long as people generally believe them, and the people of Puebla did believe a thousand things like that of their police officer.

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SELLING CHILIS, CORDOBA. THE CHILI, OR RED PEPPER, IS A NATIVE OF MEXICO AND IS USED IN EVERY PART OF THE REPUBLIC.

THE FIRST OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION

It is not strange that Puebla was ready for revolution. It is no accident that the first actual battle took place there. Madero had been in Puebla. He had spoken to the people from the balcony of the hotel in which he lodged. Among the people of that city, who had been interested in the cause of anti-reëlection, a man named Aquiles Serdan was leader. He had been active in the propaganda. He had organized, advised, raised funds, written, spoken, in favor of the movement. He was recognized by Madero as the chief agent of the cause in Puebla; and it is probable that it was understood that, when the final outbreak came, if success crowned their efforts, Serdan should be made governor of the state. He was suspected, watched. It was well understood in the city of Puebla that plotting was in progress. Twice the house in which Aquiles Serdan lived had been searched, but nothing of serious importance had been found. On November 14th, a house belonging to a family named Rousset was searched, and three members of the family were arrested and held.

THE SEARCH; DEATH OF CABRERA

The plan arranged by Madero involved a general outbreak on November 20th throughout the Republic; two days before that date, on November 18th, Miguel Cabrera, accompanied by a number of police, appeared at eight o'clock in the morning at Serdan's house to make a search again. Some of his force of policemen were left outside; with others, when the door was opened, he passed through the *zaguan,* and the door was closed behind him. As he directed his way to the *patio,* a voice cried, "Stop! withdraw! we are armed and shall defend ourselves by shooting." It is said that Cabrera ordered his men to fire; they did so rather at random. The shots of the policemen were returned, and Cabrera and one of his companions named Murrieta fell dead; Fregoso, who accompanied them, was said to have been wounded and retired to an interior room. Stories regarding him vary, and there is doubt whether he was not intentionally spared by the

people in the Serdan house. The other policemen who were with Cabrera quickly withdrew into the streets; immediate aid was summoned. The bodies of Cabrera and Murrieta were thrown out of the house onto the street and the door was closed. For a little time there was silence in Santa Clara street.

THE BATTLE ON SANTA CLARA STREET

Soon, however, forces gathered. General Valle, chief of arms in Puebla, and Col. Gaudencio de la Llave responded with considerable forces. The street of Santa Clara was full of troops. Some of the soldiers mounted the church towers and roofs from which they looked down upon the house in which the revolutionists were sheltered. A lively firing was carried on against the balconies and *azoteas* of Serdan's house. The firing was returned with vigor. Every now and then dynamite bombs were hurled from the house to the street below; they exploded with great violence, making much noise, but doing little damage. It is believed that they were intended as signals for summoning revolutionists from every part of the city of Puebla. If so, they were without result, for no aid came to the besieged force. The battle continued for three hours. More than sixty dead and wounded were lying in the street before it ended. At one time, in the early part of the battle, the sister of Aquiles appeared upon the balcony and appealed for aid to the crowd in the street below. A newspaper representative, who claims to have been a personal witness of the event, described her appearance as follows:

CARMEN SERDAN

"In these moments I could see a woman appear upon the principal balcony of the house, and, addressing the spectators who were near Santa Teresa, harangued them, brandishing a rifle in her right hand. I confess that such an act of bravery on the part of a woman who, I later found, was Carmen Serdan, filled me with enthusiasm, with admiration, and with sadness, thinking how without result her heroism would prove. The crowd of people remained mute, quiet, unmoved. There was no impulse to

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IXTACCHUATL (THE WHITE WOMAN). SNOW CAPPED RIDGE OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO. SEEN FROM THE PUEBLA SIDE.

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WASHING-PLACE, LAVENDERIA; JALAPA.

run to the aid of that woman who offered arms and ammunition and who begged for aid. Was it for lack of sympathy with the Maderist cause? Was it for cowardice? Who can say? I only know that the multitude, so easy to move in other circumstances, remained unaffected. Carmen Serdan should have been ashamed to ask aid from those who could not, or who would not, lend it. There she stood still in the balcony, her magnificent figure clearly standing forth, with disordered hair, pale face, flashing eyes, nervous action, when several shots were heard fired by the gendarmes—into the air. She did not seem to hear the shots, nor did life count for her in those moments. She continued crying, gesticulating, until a hand was seen, and a strong arm caught her by the clothing, and drew her back into the house, the door of the balcony closing again."

THE CAPTURE OF THE SERDAN HOUSE

When finally the soldiers of Colonel de la Llave entered the house and brought the combat to an end, they found only three living persons—all women. Stories differ as to how many insurgents had been involved in the battle. One writer claims that there were none excepting Maximo Serdan, Aquiles, the mother Josefa Alatriste, the sister Carmen Serdan, and Serdan's wife, Filomena del Valle. Some claim that there were a hundred insurgents in the house during the battle, but that they all escaped. Carmen Serdan herself states that there were in their party seventeen persons in all, including the three women. Her brother Maximo was killed; some of the little force escaped; there were dead bodies in the house at the time of its surrender. During the battle the women were busily engaged loading guns, bringing ammunition, and helping the men in every possible fashion.

THE HIDDEN LEADER

But where was Aquiles Serdan? The three women were taken to the police office; a guard was left in charge of the surrendered house. Search was made of the premises, but no sign of the leader of the insurrection was to be found. The populace was

certain that there must be secret tunnels through which large numbers had escaped. Search was made for such, and a tunnel was actually found, but no sign of persons in it, nor evidence that it had been used. It was flooded with water in the hope of drowning out any who might be concealed. Wild stories were afloat of subterranean mines, and it was believed that any moment great explosions fired by revolutionists might destroy the city. But nothing of the kind took place. Everything was quiet. As a matter of fact, Aquiles Serdan was in hiding. When only the three women and himself were left of the defenders, he was concealed by them before the house was carried by assault. Some of the floor tilings had been lifted, and underneath them, prepared no doubt beforehand with a view to concealment in some hour of need, was a small excavated space, just large enough to contain Aquiles Serdan in a cramped position. He had crept into this place of shelter. The women had replaced the flooring. Rugs had been thrown carelessly over the spot. Notwithstanding a careful search of the premises, the police did not find him. For hours he lay concealed. He must have suffered frightful torture from his cramped position and lack of air. The police guard, however, was in the very room under the floor of which he lay as if within a coffin. For fourteen hours he occupied his cell. Finally he could stand it no longer; hearing no conversation and believing that the guard were asleep, he cautiously and quietly lifted the flooring and tried to emerge from his retreat. The noise he made, however, called attention, and he was seen; one of the police discharged his pistol. Aquiles cried, "Do not kill me. I am Serdan." Instantly three revolvers were again discharged, and he was dead.

JOY IN PUEBLA

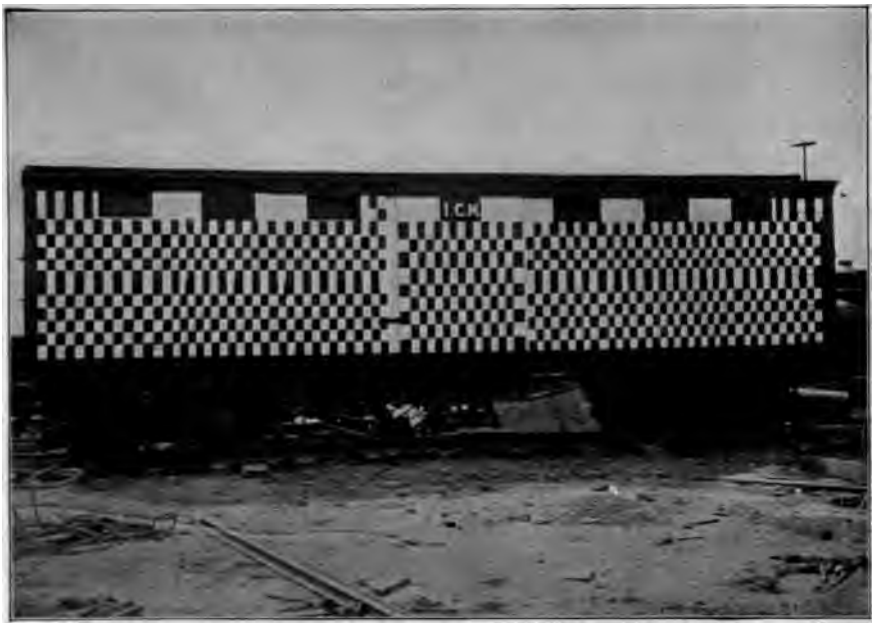
And the people of Puebla went mad with joy because Miguel Cabrera had gone to his reward. Printed sheets were sold upon the streets before the day was over, bordered with black, bearing a cross with flowers, and the words: "To-day at half-past eight in the morning, there died in the bosom of all the devils, the

cowardly assassin, the vile inquisitor, chief of informers, Miguel Cabrera. His victims, trade and the people in general, on the reception of such pleasant news, invite you to celebrate the loss of such a heavy burden and the birth in the deepest hells of the soul of such a bad man. Puebla, November 18, 1910. Deep curses the soul of this condemned man encounters in the depth of hell."

A PENDENT TO THE CENTENNIAL

The Serdan incident is a suggestive pendent to the celebration of the centennial. It was only an incident—of no great significance. Serdan was not a great man; it is even probable that he was abnormal; but he was the first actual martyr to the new cause. Naturally the Maderists made him a hero. After Madero came to power, it was ordered that a monument should be erected by the public to his memory. It was no doubt premature, beyond his merits; but the battle of the street of Santa Clara made a deep impression upon the mind of a considerable portion of the public. It will not be forgotten.

HUICHOL INDIANS. SAID TO HAVE COME TO MEXICO TO SERVE AS MADERO GUARDS.



ARMORED CARS, BUILT FOR DIAZ; IN USE BY MADERO'S FORCES.

THE IRON HAND

THE EARLY LIFE OF DIAZ—HIS MILITARY CAREER—BATTLING AGAINST THE ARMY OF INTERVENTION—DURING THE EMPIRE—ESCAPE FROM PRISON—LEADER OF OPPOSITION—TROUBLE WITH LERDO DE TEJADA—PRESIDENT FOR THE FIRST TIME—ADMINISTRATION OF MANUEL GONZALES—DIAZ RETURNED TO POWER—MEXICO, A COUNTRY OF AMBASSADORIAL RANK—ENCOURAGEMENT OF PROGRESS—THE PIUS CLAIMS—RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS WITH AUSTRO-HUNGARY—EXPRESSION REGARDING THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

IN 1907, when in the City of Mexico, Mr. Root, our Secretary of State, said the following:

"It has seemed to me that of all the men now living, President Porfirio Diaz of Mexico was best worth seeing. Whether one considers the adventurous, daring, chivalric incidents of his early career; whether one considers the vast work of government

which his wisdom and courage and commanding character accomplish; whether one considers his singularly attractive personality, no one lives today whom I had rather see than President Diaz. If I were a poet, I would write poetic eulogies; if I were a musician, I would compose triumphal marches; if I were a Mexican, I should feel that the steadfast loyalty of a lifetime could not do too much in return for the blessings that he has brought to my country. As I am neither poet, musician, nor Mexican, but only an American, who loves justice and liberty, and hopes to see their reign among mankind progress and strengthen and become perpetual, I look to Porfirio Diaz, the President of Mexico, as one of the greatest men to be held up for the hero-worship of mankind."

One of three things, either Porfirio Diaz was really a great man, or Mr. Root was no judge of men, or his standard of judgment for a hero in the direction of justice and liberty was erroneous. It is worth while for a little to consider the life and the achievements of the man who in 1910 stood at the head of the Mexican Nation.

THE EARLY LIFE OF DIAZ

Porfirio Diaz was born in Oaxaca Sept. 15, 1830. It will be noticed that the date coincides with the anniversary of the *grito* of independence raised by Hidalgo twenty-four years before. This was a matter of convenience when, with the achievement of greatness, the celebration of his birthday, became a matter of public interest. His father was a Spaniard, his mother was one-fourth Mixtec Indian. It was common for those who did not admire Porfirio Diaz in his days of power to refer to his "Indian administration." Most of the strong qualities which the man possessed re really Indian qualities, even though he must be considered having only one-eighth of Indian blood in his veins. When vears of age, the boy entered the Seminary in Oaxaca, and l as if he might become a priest; at the end of four years, r, in the Seminary, he entered the famous Institute of nd Sciences and turned his attention to law. In connec-

tion with his law studies, he was under the direction and instruction of Benito Juarez. He left school before he received his license to practice law. From 1853 he was associated with the liberal party and soon came to be a power in it within his state. He gained the hostility of Santa Anna, and was obliged for several months during the year 1855 to remain in concealment from his enemies. At the close of that year, he became subprefect of Ixtlan.

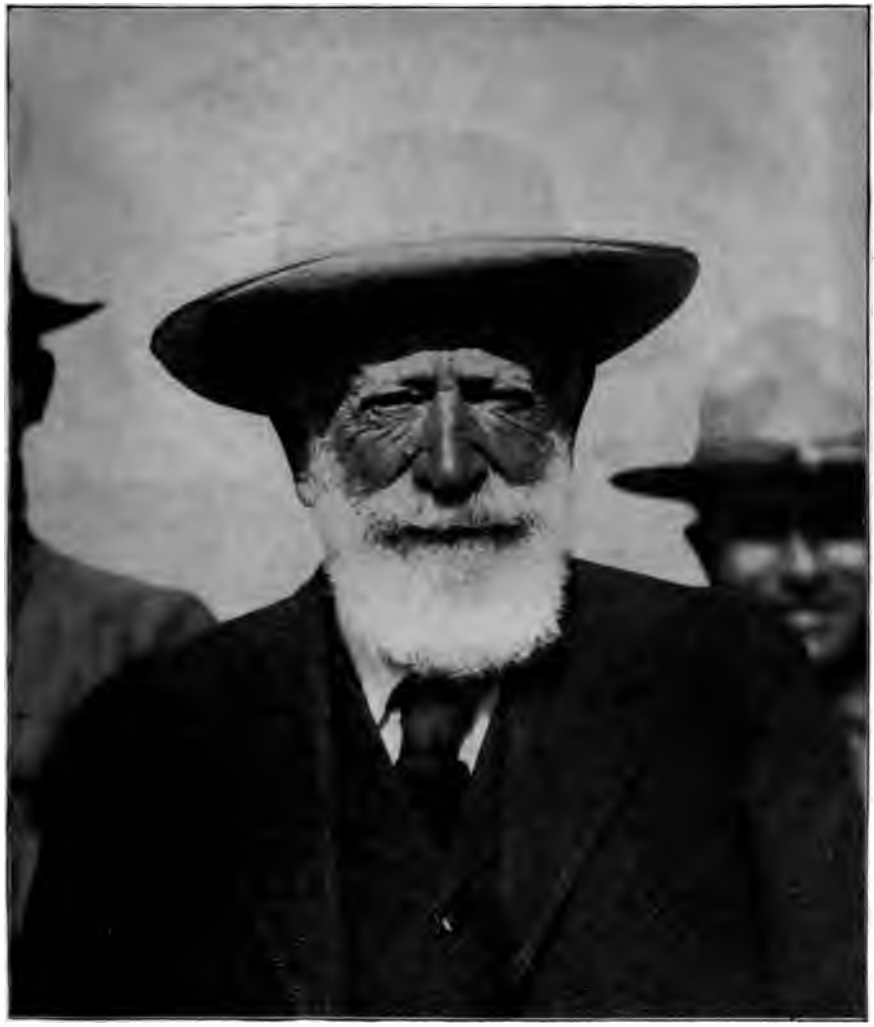
HIS MILITARY CAREER

At Ixtlan he was actively interested in the liberal cause and raised troops to fight against the conservatives. He was wounded in a battle on Aug. 13, 1857, but gained a victory. In 1858 the conservatives were completely crushed in the capital city of his state. Shortly afterwards Diaz led the forces which succeeded in capturing Tehuantepec, and was appointed governor and military commander of that department. In 1859 he gained a victory at Mixtequilla, which brought him the appointment of colonel in the National Guards. On Nov. 25 of the same year he again captured Tehuantepec after a brilliant victory, which secured for him a colonelcy in the regular army. On Aug. 8, 1860, the liberals again captured the city of Oaxaca, and almost immediately, Diaz and his victorious forces, moved northward and were with the liberal troops when they entered the capital city in triumph.

In 1861 he was elected a member of the National Congress from Ixtlan. He was more interested, however, in military than in legislative matters, and soon joined General Ortega in pursuit of the retreating conservative forces. He assailed and defeated the notorious and cruel Gen. Leonardo Marquez near Jalatlaco, gaining a great victory, and at the same time the appointment of brigadier-general. Oct. 20 General Diaz took part in the battle of Pachuca, which practically ended the three-year War of the Reform.

Photograph by Underwood and Underwood

PORFIRIO DIAZ.
Picture taken after his retirement from office.



LUIZ TERRAZAS: LONG-TIME GOVERNOR OF CHIHUAHUA, A FRIEND OF DIAZ AND ONE WHO PROFITED BY THE OLD REGIME.

BATTLING AGAINST THE ARMY OF INTERVENTION

It was the moment of the French invasion. General Diaz was put in command of the second brigade of the army and in 1862 sent against the invaders. At Escamula, State of Vera Cruz, there was a battle between the two armies. Diaz held his own, but fell back to Puebla. There he joined his forces to those of Ignacio Zaragoza, who was the commander in charge. A great and glorious victory was gained on May 5. The battle was so notable for the bravery shown and the result accomplished that the date, May 5, has been a national holiday up to the present time. The French, however, received reinforcements and a second battle at Puebla was fought with different results. The French were successful and many of the Mexican officers were taken prisoners. Among them was Porfirio Diaz. The French demanded that the prisoners should sign a promise not to attempt escape. Many of them did so, but Diaz refused. A special guard was therefore placed upon him, but he succeeded in eluding their vigilance and made good his flight. He reached the City of Mexico, where he was made general of division.

DURING THE EMPIRE

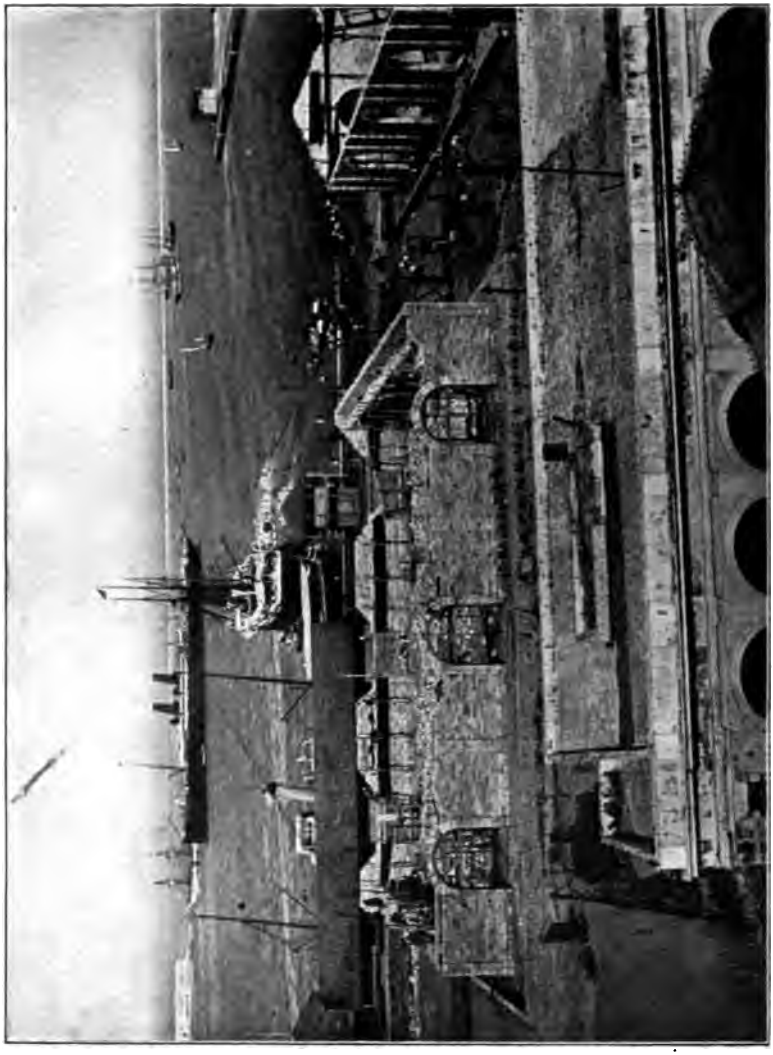
When finally Maximilian made his appearance and the Empire was established, the liberal forces were scattered. With some Juarez retreated northward; with others, Diaz protected the south, and throughout the period of the imperial government was more or less active in his field. Maximilian, with his set policy of trying to win over the leading men of the opposition, repeatedly made overtures to Diaz to take position in the imperial army. These were constantly refused, and through the independent struggle Porfirio Diaz showed himself a genuine patriot. At Taxco, a valiant assault was made and the town was captured. This victory won for the loyal leader the appointment of major-general.

Marshal Bazaine himself moved southward from the capital city with a considerable force and besieged Diaz in Oaxaca, where [illegible]me he was governor of the state. After a long siege the

city was captured and Diaz made a prisoner. He was transferred to Puebla, where he was confined. While here, a prisoner, new overtures were made to him, promising pardon and position. They were promptly and firmly refused.

ESCAPE FROM PRISON

In the hope of escaping from his prison Diaz had been engaged in excavating a tunnel, leading from his cell toward freedom. It was almost finished, and the hope of escape was bright, when he was transferred to another building and all his work was lost. His new prison was an ancient convent building. Here, too, he planned escape. He was in communication with friends outside and from them he secured four ropes and a knife. One night he tied three of the ropes together, rolled them into a coil, and tossed them to a roof above him. With the single rope he succeeded in forming attachment to a projecting point above his room and climbing up it, gained the roof to which he had thrown his long ropes. He then cautiously walked from roof to roof, by moonlight, until he reached a place where it was possible to tie his three-spliced ropes, by which he descended to the ground below. He quickly found the spot where a horse, servant and guide were waiting for him, and made good his escape. The news that he was again at freedom quickly gathered volunteers about him, until by June, 1866, he had a considerable following. It was badly equipped and poorly trained. But with it he soon gained important victories at Nochixtlan, Miahuatlan and La Carbonera. These were won against well-trained and well-equipped European soldiery. He next besieged the capital city of Oaxaca, which finally surrendered to him on Oct. 31. The victory was notable, as by it he took 1,100 prisoners, much ammunition and thirty cannons. During December he was again in the district of Tehuantepec, where he was successful in several engagements. The south having been conquered, he took his way northward, and on April 2, 1867, gained another victory at Puebla. Eight days later, at San Lorenzo he was successful in a battle against Leonardo Marquez. Marquez re-



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HARBOR OF VERA CRUZ.

treated to Mexico, where he was besieged by the soldiers under the direction of Diaz. On June 9 he attempted to make a sally from the city, but met with no success. On June 21 he surrendered, the city having been besieged since the 12th of April. Diaz and his forces now took charge of the capital city of the republic, where he remained until President Juarez and his government returned from the north on July 15. He then refused appointment in the new government and retired to his country place, La Noria. He was unquestionably extremely popular as the hero of the independent army. He had been at this time actually engaged in forty-one battles, and had gained many notable victories.

LEADER OF OPPOSITION

He had been conspicuous in his aid to the Juarez government and the liberal cause. He was soon, however, dissatisfied with Juarez, and when a constitutional election was ordered, entered the field against him as candidate for position of the President of the Republic. There were three candidates—Benito Juarez, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada and Porfirio Diaz. Juarez was successful. When Juarez ran for President again, four years later, Diaz and Lerdo were again competitors with him. Again Juarez was returned, and now his former supporter and chief military helper was busied in taking the field in arms against him. The death of Juarez interfered with vigorous action on the part of Diaz. When a new election was arranged, Lerdo was again a candidate and Diaz ran against him. A third time he met defeat.

TROUBLE WITH LERDO DE TEJADA

During the life of Juarez, Diaz had launched the Plan of La Noria, now he was interested in the Plan of Tuxtepec. This time he took the field against Lerdo. The President at all times distrusted him. Once in power, he had taken steps for his removal and Diaz had been in exile or concealment. One of the stories which Mexicans delight to tell of the hero was during this time. Diaz had been a refugee in the United States. He

had determined to return to Mexico and took steamer at New Orleans for Vera Cruz. As they neared Tampico, he was recognized by officers of the Mexican army, who were on board with a considerable number of government soldiers; they kept close watch upon him with the intention of seizing him and delivering him a prisoner when they should be in port. He knew that he had been detected and that the situation was critical; taking a knife to use as protection in case of need against sharks which were supposed to swarm in Tampico bay, he leaped overboard in the hope of saving himself by swimming. It was a bold act from every point of view. He was, however, seen and captured and when brought on board the steamer the officers desired to court martial him. To this the captain of the steamer objected, but promised that he might be kept a prisoner until Vera Cruz, where he should be delivered up. He was watched in his cabin with care; he nevertheless succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the guard and threw a life-preserver overboard in order to mislead his enemies. Meantime he took refuge in the purser's cabin, where he found concealment in a sort of cupboard, or wardrobe. Here he remained concealed for several days, in great discomfort, living on water and crackers which were secretly conveyed to him. He was in imminent risk of discovery during the time, although it was actually believed, the life-preserver having been discovered, that he had met his death by drowning. When finally the Plan of Tuxtepec was promulgated, Diaz returned to Mexico and took part in the revolution against President Lerdo de Tejada. Political matters were in great confusion. Señor Lerdo attempted to maintain himself in office; Jose Maria Iglesias, as president of the supreme court, declared himself legitimately in power, in case Lerdo's right were in dispute; he not only made this claim, but organized an actual government, with himself as head, in Guanajuato. There were thus three claimants for power, Lerdo, Iglesias and Diaz. Lerdo sent General Alatorre against the revolutionists. He was defeated at Tecoac by the forces under Porfirio Diaz and Manuel Gonzales. Lerdo fled to the United States, where he remained an exile till his death. It is

said that he carried a considerable amount of public money with him. Iglesias and his paper government came to naught.

PRESIDENT FOR THE FIRST TIME

An election was arranged for Dec. 16 and by it Porfirio Diaz was elected President of the Republic. On April 1, 1877, Congress officially declared his election and dated his term of office back to Nov. 30. It is interesting to recall that for a time the United States Government refused to recognize Diaz on the ground that he had secured the office by non-constitutional methods. He, however, remained in power and served through his term of four years. He proved a vigorous ruler, with many excellent ideas. He had to meet various uprisings. The most important of these was a mutiny of the garrison and the sailors on the war vessels at Vera Cruz and a revolution headed by General Escobedo, who came from Texas for the purpose. These and various other uprisings, however, were crushed with no great difficulty. When finally, in 1880, his term of office ended, he refused a reëlection, as there was a constitutional prohibition against the President of Mexico serving two consecutive terms. Accordingly Gen. Manuel Gonzales was elected to the office and held from 1880 to 1884. When President Diaz yielded the chair peacefully to his successor, it was only the second time in the history of the Mexican Republic that such a thing had happened. During his first term of office, the wife of President Diaz died.

ADMINISTRATION OF MANUEL GONZALES

There is no question that Manuel Gonzales was the choice of President Diaz and that he was largely under the influence of his predecessor throughout his term of office. He appointed General Diaz a member of his cabinet, giving him the department of Fomento. As secretary of this department, Diaz inaugurated various works of public improvement, the most important of which certainly was the improvements at Tampico. Diaz soon found, however, that he was looked upon with suspicion and jealousy by his fellow members of the cabinet and resigned

his office. He was elected senator, but this was hardly to his taste. Chosen Governor of Oaxaca, he found this position more agreeable and held it for some time. Under his administration, the state made notable progress. Its financial condition was greatly improved; the construction of the Tehauntepec Railway was undertaken; the schools and system of public education were greatly developed. Finally, however, he solicited a leave of absence and returned to Mexico. Here he married Carmen Romero Rubio, daughter of the well-known Manuel Romero Rubio, who had been a member of Lerdo's cabinet, and with whom Diaz was well acquainted, although they had represented different ideas in policies. The marriage took place in 1882. The lady was beautiful, elegant and accomplished. She has always been a great favorite with the Mexican people, and notwithstanding the disparity in age between them, the marriage has usually been considered a happy one. With his wife, President Diaz made an extended journey in the United States. They were everywhere lionized, and in our great cities much attention was shown them.

DIAZ RETURNED TO POWER

When in 1884 Manuel Gonzales' term of office ended, Porfirio Diaz was elected President for a second term. From this time on, President Diaz remained in office. When his second term neared its close, the laws had been so changed that it was possible for a man to hold two consecutive terms of office. Before his third term ran out, the constitution had been so amended that there was no bar to constant reëlection. From 1884 to 1910, with its splendid centennial celebration, Porfirio Diaz was constantly at the helm of the ship of state. He was often referred to as the ruler with the iron hand. He repressed all efforts at revolution. He surrounded himself with strong men whose interests were best served by giving him most loyal service. He made many and notable public improvements to which reference will be made in another place. Here we shall only speak of his political achievements.

MEXICO, A NATION OF AMBASSADORIAL RANK

In 1899 Porfirio Diaz raised the Republic of Mexico to ambassadorial rank. When it is remembered that out of Mexico's 15,000,000 population, 6,000,000 perhaps are of pure Indian blood, and that 7,000,000 more are extremely poor persons of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, it will be realized that this was an achievement in politics of an extraordinary grade. It is, of course, open to question whether it is an advantage for a population like Mexico to be weighted down with the costly luxury of occupying ambassadorial rank; this, however, does not in the slightest affect the magnitude of the achievement. The last representative of the republic at Washington as Minister was the famous Mateo Romero. The first Ambassador sent to us was Manuel Aspiroz, who made his fame largely by conducting the cause against the Emperor Maximilian.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF PROGRESS

Porfirio Diaz was always anxious that Mexico should participate in all sorts of international conferences and gatherings. Not only were strong delegations sent from Mexico to congresses and conferences of scientific, literary, artistic and political character in every portion of the world, but many international meetings were held in Mexico. Mexico and the United States were the only American Republics invited to the first peace conference at The Hague. The second Pan-American Congress was held in the City of Mexico. Three times the Congress of Americanists has been entertained by Mexico. Geographical, geological and medical gatherings had met there. There is no doubt that President Diaz desired through such gatherings to impress upon the outside world the fact that Mexico was truly a great nation, well abreast of other nations in such lines of progress.

THE PIUS CLAIMS

One of the first cases submitted to The Hague Tribunal was the matter of the Pius Claims, disputed between Mexico and the United States. This case was submitted in 1902, and was

decided adversely for Mexico. It is commonly believed throughout Latin American that justice was with Mexico. Our representatives, however, before the tribunal, insisted on confining the discussion to certain technical points of law instead of permitting a full discussion of the rights and equities at issue. It is probable that if the whole matter had been fully discussed upon its merits, the decision would have been different. At all events, so far as the American Republics are concerned, The Hague Tribunal fell into disrepute through this decision.

RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS WITH AUSTRO-HUNGARY

An interesting diplomatic incident during the administration of Porfirio Diaz was the resumption of relations with Austro-Hungary. These ceased with execution of Maximilian. It will be remembered that the unfortunate Emperor was a younger brother of Francis Joseph, ruler of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was quite natural that there should have been deep feeling in connection with the execution. At the time when relations were finally restored, the Government of Mexico erected a small, but neat chapel at the site of the execution, on the *Cerro de Campanas,* at Queretaro, in memory of the unfortunate imperial adventurer. This little act of courtesy undoubtedly went far to restore friendly feelings between the two nations. It is open to question whether the little chapel should be called, as it frequently is called in Mexico, a *capilla expiatoria* (expiatory chapel).

EXPRESSION REGARDING THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Once during his long period of administration, Porfirio Diaz gave utterance to a thoughtful expression regarding the Monroe Doctrine. While carefully worded, and diplomatically phrased, it is of sufficient interest for quotation. It was contained in one of his official messages to Congress. It was uttered at the time when America and England had been in some danger of war on account of Venezulean matters. Godoy translates this portion of the message as follows:/

"Without entering into disquisitions as to the origin and the historic moment which gave rise to its proclamation; without entering into details as to the proper limitations which its own authors set to it, and which were referred to so skilfully by President Cleveland, the Mexican Government can do no less than be in favor of a doctrine which condemns as unjust any invasion made by monarchical Europe against the American Republics, against such independent nations which today are administered by that popular form of government. Our general history and especially the struggle of our people to shake off the yoke of a foreign empire of European origin, form and elements and the torrents of blood, shed in that terrible struggle, testified before the world our love of independence and our hatred of all foreign intervention. But we do not consider that in order to attain the object that we desire, it is sufficient that the United States alone, notwithstanding the greatness of its resources, should have the obligation to aid the other republics of this hemisphere against the attacks of Europe—if such are yet considered possible—but that each one of them, by means of a declaration similar to that issued by President Monroe, should proclaim that any attack from any foreign power, which may be directed to injure the territory or the independence or to change the institutions of any one of the American Republics, should be considered by the nation making such declaration as an offense against it, if the other nation which sustained the attack or to which a threat of that character is directed should ask its aid at the opportune moment.

"In this way the doctrine, now styled Monroe Doctrine, would become the American Doctrine in its most ample sense, and if it is true that it has had its origin in the United States, it could form a part of the international law of all America."

We have aimed to sketch the career and political work of the man in charge of Mexico in 1910. Elsewhere we shall take up his contribution to the material advancement of his country.

TIZOC'S STONE, COMMONLY CALLED THE SACRIFICIAL STONE, CITY OF MEXICO.

AZTEC MEXICO

THE MARKS OF CIVILIZATION—THE MIGRATION STORY—DAILY LIFE OF AZTECS—AZTEC ARCHITECTURE—ARTS OF LIFE—EDUCATION AND ART—THE NATURE OF THE AZTECS—A BLOODY WORSHIP—THE NEW FIRE SECULAR CEREMONY—THE BOUNDS OF EMPIRE—WHAT CORTES FOUND.

STONE FIGURE, "THE SAD INDIAN," CITY OF MEXICO.

UPON what was Mexico founded? What was the material from which it was built? We must look back through the centuries. When Cortes, in the first third of the sixteenth century, marched from Vera Cruz up into the plateau country, what did he find? Prescott and Lew Wallace, basing themselves upon the ancient Spanish narratives, tell us that there was a mighty empire, a powerful emperor, swarms of nobles, a splendid city, luxury. Nothing could surpass, in brilliancy, elegance, and extravagance, the Montezuma's dinner described to us by Hubert Howe Bancroft. Prescott somewhere says that the Spaniards, in conquering Mexico, destroyed a civilization superior to their own. Everyone has read Prescott, Lew Wallace, and Bancroft.

THE MARKS OF CIVILIZATION

What is civilization? A people who is civilized possesses a system of writing by means of phonetic characters. The Aztecs had an ingenious and interesting system of writing by means of pictures; they were just beginning to grasp the notion that these pictures might be used to represent sounds instead of to convey ideas; they were far from having a phonetic system. A civilized people knows how to smelt metals from their ores, and specifically, iron from its ore; the Aztecs knew the use of copper, gold and silver; they could smelt the native metals and cast them cunningly; they did not know the use of iron. A civilized people uses domestic animals as helps in agriculture—beasts of burden, draught and tilling; the Aztecs had one domestic animal, a little dog, fattened for food.

The Chinese are civilized, and have been for centuries; they have a system of writing, largely with phonetic characters; they smelt metals from their ores, and specifically iron from its ore; they use domestic animals as helps in agriculture; they have been civilized for two thousand years. The Japanese are civilized and were so before the Norman Conquest. The Hindus, the Persians, and a host of other Asiatic and European peoples, are and long have been civilized, but the Aztecs had not a single criterion of civilization; they had an interesting culture which placed them at the upper level of barbarism, but no higher. Prescott's dictum is false, and could only have been made by one who used the term "civilization" uncritically.

THE MIGRATION STORY

The Aztecs had of course a migration story; most people in barbarism have their exodus. According to their legend, they came from Chicomoztoc, the Seven Caves, located far to the northwest. On divine suggestion and under divine guidance, they started on their pilgrimage toward the promised land. It was a weary journey, occupying many years and involving many pauses. The divine sign where they were to rest and build their

city was the finding of a rock upon the border of a lake; from the rock was to grow a cactus upon which was perched an eagle tearing a snake. When at last the divine sign was encountered in the beautiful valley now known as the Valley of Mexico, there was no room for the new-comers. The valley was already occupied by different tribes, related by blood indeed to the Aztecs and speaking quite the same language, but far from friendly. But the gods had spoken—here the wanderers must rest; as there was no room upon the lake-margin, they settled in the swamp, building up little patches of ground from the mud of the lake-bottom; for a long time they suffered every hardship and disease; suffering reduced their numbers and brought them to the verge of desperation; at last the worst was past, and the little remnant began to gain courage, command respect, and to wedge their way on to the land before refused them.

DAILY LIFE OF AZTECS

For food supply the Aztecs depended upon hunting, gathering and gardening. They ate everything upon which they could lay hands. The lake yielded fish and ducks, filth-scum and insect-eggs; snakes, lizards, birds, deer and wild pigs were hunted; maize, beans, squashes and chilis were cultivated on their garden patches; dogs were fattened for eating. On the whole, they depended most upon their agriculture; their crops were their chief dependence. Field labor was of the simplest kind; brush and stubble were burned over and the ashes left upon the ground to enrich the soil. Seed grain was dropped into holes drilled with pointed sticks, and the earth pushed back over the planted seed; then the harvest was awaited. There was no individual ownership of land. The tribal land was divided into quarters, and these quarters divided among those who chose to cultivate. Occupation and work gave the right to the harvest. From time to time, as the population varied, division and redistribution of fields took place.

The ordinary dress of the Aztecs was simple. Men wore the breech-clout, a long and narrow strip of cloth passed between

the legs, wound about the waist, and knotted; it was a decent covering, but scanty. During the cooler portion of the day a blanket was worn about the upper body. Simple sandals protected the feet. Women wore two articles of clothing only: a strip of cloth wrapped about the lower body, and held in place by a cord at the waist, fell to the knees; the upper body was usually exposed, but in the colder season or in the chill of the evening or morning a sort of waist was worn, like a broad sack turned upsidedown with a hole for the head to pass through and with slits in the sides to permit the arms to pass; women went barefoot and bareheaded. It is true, however, that rulers and priests were distinguished by more elaborate clothing and by characteristic decorations and adornments. Soldiers too wore a dress marked with some design, and frequently wore elaborate head-dresses.

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

Few, if any, actual Aztec ruins remain to tell us of their architectural development. From the ruins of other tribes, however, and from descriptions of Spanish writers, we may suppose that the dwelling houses of the common people were simple structures, easily destroyed, and leaving little trace of their one-time existence. Temples and governmental buildings were more substantial, and whatever knowledge of fine building the Aztecs possessed, they exercised upon these buildings. All the ruins in Mexico which have attracted so much attention seem to be temples and governmental houses. Any great Indian town in Mexico at the present time contains a substantial church and a well-built municipal house; the people live in simple huts of brush and mud, or houses of adobe bricks; if they were deserted, very soon the only ruins remaining would be these structures of the church and state. It is interesting to note, so far back in the history of Mexican people, the fact that they contributed largely to these two forms of social control.

ARTS OF LIFE

Most of the tools and weapons of the Aztecs were made of stone. They chipped arrows and spearheads and knives from chert and obsidian; razors for shaving were flaked from masses of obsidian—a sort of volcanic glass; hatchets and axes of polished stone were used; the famous war-club of the Aztecs consisted of a flat blade of hard and heavy wood along the sides of which sharp splinters of obsidian were fixed in grooves; ornaments also were made of stone; polished lip-plugs of black obsidian, transparent crystal, or amethyst, were commonly in use; ear ornaments and necklaces of stone beads were known. Mirrors were made of polished obsidian or iron pyrite. By pecking, battering with a blunt-pointed pebble, great figures were shaped of basalt and other heavy lava and rock surfaces were covered with elaborate designs wonderfully wrought. Pottery was pre-eminently the art of arts among the Aztecs and other tribes of Mexico; not only vessels for food and drink, pots for cooking, griddles for baking cakes, and other objects of utility were made, but clay was shaped into figures and forms of beauty for decoration or religious purposes. Native gold, native copper, and native silver, the latter rarely, were worked both by beating and casting into forms of use and ornament; Bernal Diaz tells us that the cunning Aztec smiths knew how to cast figures of fishes with scales alternately of gold and silver, and little birds with feathers alternately of gold and silver, which were produced at a single casting; it is unlikely that they really did this, though they may have seemed to do so. They could actually cast little figures of frogs with pellet eyes which rattled loosely in their rounded sockets, but were too large to be shaken out. One art in which the Aztecs had great skill was feather-work; they not only employed large feathers for head-dresses and war-jackets, but they combined the delicate and brilliant metallic-lustered dainty feathers from the throats of humming-birds into pictures which were worked out as delicately as the miniature paintings of mediaeval Europeans. The Aztecs were passion-

ately fond of flowers and used them decoratively on all public occasions; arches of green and flowers were erected along the line of march of processions.

EDUCATION AND ART

To the education of the young considerable attention was given. There is still in existence a manuscript painted by an Aztec artist shortly after the Conquest at the wish of the Viceroy Mendoza, in which the training of youth is shown. In fact, the career of an individual from the cradle to the grave is represented in this series of pictures. The boy was taught the proper occupations of his sex and trained in warfare; the girl learned to spin and weave and to do the duties of the home. Instruction in higher branches—what we ourselves usually mean by education—was given by priests and priestesses, but chiefly the children of the well-to-do and official classes only received this.

Picture-writing was notably developed; we have already stated that the Aztecs had begun to see that characters might be used to represent sounds instead of to convey ideas; this notion, however, was far from being fully grasped, and in the inscription and books remaining to us, the phonetic characters are exceedingly rare, while the ideographic are common. A considerable number of the Aztec books remain, and of most of these exact facsimiles have been printed for the benefit of students. For the most part, they deal with magic and religion; they are religious calendars intended to assist in following the ceremonials of the year.

The Aztecs were fond of poetry; it is claimed that we still possess the seventy songs of Netzalhuatcoyotl; he was not himself an Aztec, but an Acolhua (a neighboring tribe with its capital city, Texcoco, across the lake); his poems are full of bold metaphors and other figures of speech. While perhaps we have no actual Aztec poems left, we know that these people were fond of music; they had a wide range of musical instruments—drums, rattles, whistles, pipes, and the like; they had songs adapted to all occasions. There were spring songs, war

songs, flower songs, dirges, and many others. There were singing schools held in special houses-of-song; many of the songs were known to all.

The most astonishing intellectual achievement of the Aztecs was their astronomical knowledge, as shown in their time-reckoning; they knew the actual length of the year; they knew how to adjust the excess of some hours and minutes beyond 365 days so as to avoid confusion; their system of interpolation was wonderfully exact, and it may perhaps be said that their calendar was more correct at the time of the Spanish Conquest than the calendar in use among the conquerors. It is this fact more than any other, perhaps, which led Prescott to make his sweeping statement.

THE NATURE OF THE AZTECS

Two words best characterize the nature of the Aztecs: they were avaricious and blood-thirsty. Merchants were a recognized class among them; they organized extensive expeditions and went to distant towns to trade their manufactures for desired products of other regions; these expeditions were important enterprises, requiring long and careful preparations, provisions for defense, etc. War was held in highest esteem. All boys were given more or less of military training. War-parties were divided into companies of several hundred, these into smaller divisions, and these into little groups of twenty fighters, each group with its flag or standard; even these little groups were subdivided into clusters of six or eight individuals who, in war, would fight together. In fighting there was less desire to kill than to take prisoners. When the Aztecs waged successful war against another tribe, they did not annex the territory of the conquered, but left it to them; they demanded, however, the payment of tribute, and sometimes set aside certain fields, the produce of which was to form a portion of the tribute. With some nations war was constant. It is even claimed that, by the Aztecs and their allies in the Valley of Mexico, a definite arrangement had been made with the

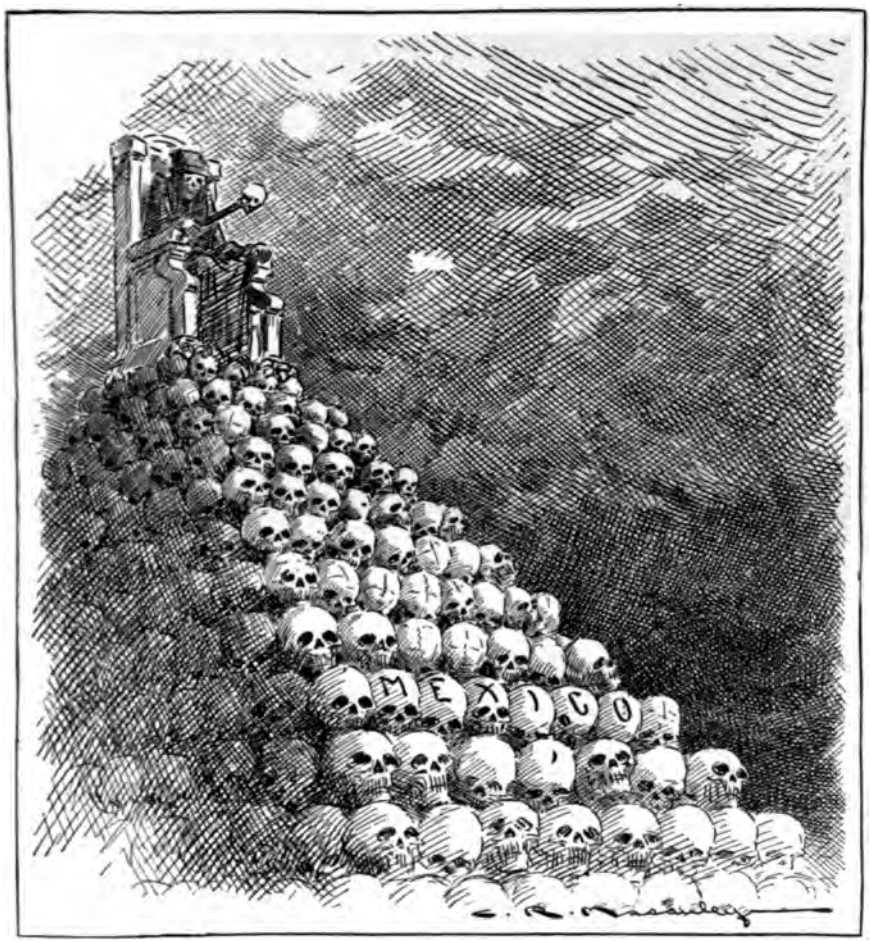
Tlaxcalans, the object of which was that the Aztecs were to constantly exploit Tlaxcala for war victims, and that Tlaxcala was to look to them for captives for their own altar sacrifices.

A BLOODY WORSHIP

It is of course in religion that we find the most complete exhibition of a people's character. As every people creates its god in its own image, we may judge a people from the objects of its worship. The gods of the Aztecs were blood-thirsty because the people themselves were blood-thirsty. There were scores of gods, and in the whole long list only one was kind, and he was borrowed. Lew Wallace's "Fair God" takes its name from this deity. Quetzalcoatl was his name. He was a god of fair skin from an eastern home; he was a culture hero and taught men many of the best things which they knew; his altars were bloodless, he desired no human sacrifices; but we have said, he was a borrowed god. The true Aztec gods were creatures like Huitzilopochtl, Tetzcatlipoca, Tlaloc, Centeotl. Huitzilopochtl was preeminently the tribal deity; a hideous creature of war, he demanded constant human sacrifices. The Tlalocs were rain gods and demanded innocent children for sacrifices; if these wept, so much the better,—the rains would be so much more abundant.

Centeotl was the god of the corn-fields and the harvest; the deity was either male or female, being at once a mother and a son; the fields drank blood, and the celebration to Centeotl demanded many victims; after the sacrifice was made, the victim was flayed, and the celebrant drew the skin of the unfortunate being over his own body. It was a common rule that the victim of the sacrifice was ceremonially eaten; the head was cut off in order that the skull might be retained and placed in the *zompantl* as trophy or evidence of the popularity of the god; certain portions of the headless body were retained by the priests, and the balance was thrown down from the temple pyramid to the men who had captured the victim on the field of battle, who now carried the mangled corpse to their homes and ate it.

THE PERMANENT SOVEREIGN



THE AZTEC TEMPLES HAD A SKULL DISPLAY KNOWN AS TZOMPANTL. A SPANISH SOLDIER CLAIMED TO COUNT 160,000 SKULLS OF SACRIFICED VICTIMS AT ONE TEMPLE. MACAULEY'S CARTOON SUGGESTS THE CONTINUED AWFUL SACRIFICE OF LIFE.

THE NEW FIRE SECULAR CEREMONY

Certainly one of the most picturesque and interesting of the ancient ceremonies was the secular festival celebrated at the end of the fifty-two years' cycle. The Aztecs counted time in cycles of fifty-two years as we count it in cycles of one hundred years. They believed that the world would come to an end at the close of some such cycle. There had already been four destructions of the world. The first time it was destroyed by pestilence, the second time by earthquake, the third by deluge, the fourth by rain. The present, then, was the fifth existence of our globe. As the end of any cycle approached, dread and fear took possession of the people; no new enterprises were undertaken; houses damaged by earthquake were not repaired; weaving and spinning ceased; what was the use of expending labor, thought and energy upon things which might be of no utility? On the last day of the cycle weeping and wailing and woe prevailed. All the fires in the houses were extinguished. When evening came the whole population left the city and passed out over the great causeway to the "hill of the star," Ixtapalapa, on whose summit was the little temple where the great sacrifice of the cycle's end was to take place. The victim this time was an Aztec who offered himself for the general welfare. Preparations were made. Darkness came. The priests upon the hilltop watched the constellations as they swept across the heavens. When the Pleiades reached the meridian, the moment had come for the will of the gods to be made known. The victim was thrown upon the sacrificial stone, with a flint knife his breast was opened and his heart dragged out; into the gaping wound a block of wood (notched at the edge) was laid, and into the notch an upright stick, blunt-pointed, was placed; five priests held the victim, two held his feet, two others held his hands, and the fifth held a wooden yoke over his neck; two other priests operated the sticks, one holding the lower block in place, the other whirling the upright stick between his palms, pressing it downward. If the gods were kind and answered the prayers

of the people by a spark of fire, all was well, and the old world would have another fifty-two years' reprieve. Anxiously they watched the little heap of wood-dust whirled out by the revolving upper stick; in a moment there glowed within it a spark of fire, the gift of the gods. Carefully they pressed toward it, fed it tinder, nursed it into a flame. Instantly they lighted their torches, and with cries of joy they rushed down the hillside with the blazing evidence of divine approval. The crowd of thousands down below had brought with them from their homes new torches, and as the priests reached the base of the little hill, they pressed around them to light their own torches from those kindled by the heavenly fire. With singing, cries of joy, and dancing, those who came out weeping and in sorrow hastened to their homes. New fires were kindled in every house. The next morning all was life and bustle. Houses were being repaired, cloth woven, pots shaped. Fifty-two years more of life for world and people!

THE BOUNDS OF EMPIRE

Naturally those who have imagined the Aztec Empire and the sway of the mighty Montezumas, after the fashion of Bancroft and Lew Wallace, have thought of that empire as being coterminous with the now-existing Mexican Republic. What were the facts? The lovely valley in which the Aztecs lived has a long oval form and measures perhaps not more than forty miles in length and less than twenty miles in breadth. It is a rather small area for an empire. But the Aztecs did not own even all of it; they were but a single tribe within that area. They had neighbors, distinct tribes like themselves, with independent governments. Chief among these neighbors were the Acolhuas, living across the lake and having as their capital city Texcoco. Less important, but by no means insignificant, were the Tecpanecans, their capital city being Tlacopan. The street-car line today connects the City of Mexico with the suburb of Atzcapozalco—only seven miles separating them; Atzcapozalco was the capital city of another "kingdom." And with these the

enumeration of the populations of the valley is not exhausted. In other words, the Aztecs were one tribe only in a group of tribes which occupied the little area of the famous Mexican Valley. When Cortes came, the Aztecs had had wars with many of their neighbors. They had patched up an alliance with the Acolhuas and the Tecpanecans; the three tribes formed a confederacy like our own; each of the members of the union had an independent local government; collectively they acted through a council of the confederacy; at the head of the confederacy was the "Chief of Men"—Montezuma at the moment of the Conquest, but this confederacy was at that time far from being imperial; it was, however, waging aggressive warfare, and when Cortes came, it maintained outposts of trade and tribute in various parts of Mexico.

WHAT CORTES FOUND

What, then, did Cortes find? He found Mexico occupied by scores of warring, barbarous, independent Indian tribes. All were agricultural and settled populations. Orozco y Berra lists more than one hundred and fifty languages spoken at that time in what is today Mexico. The Aztecs were one tribe among this mass of tribes; it was larger than some, more advanced than many.

THE CONQUEST

HERNAN CORTES—EXPEDITION TO MEXICO—PLAN OF CONQUEST—THE TLAXCALANS—ARRIVAL AT TENOCHTITLAN—SUPPRESSION OF PLOT OF NARVAEZ—A CRITICAL SITUATION—BATTLE OF OTUMBA—THE LAST STRUGGLE—CORTES IN CHARGE—CAUSES OF EASY CONQUEST.

THE Conquest of Mexico is one of the romantic chapters of history. It has been written many times. Hernan Cortes, its leader, was born in 1485, at Medellin, Estramadura, Spain. His parents were poor, but of noble family. The young man was sent to school at Salamanca, but after two years of study, abandoned further education and determined to seek a life of fortune and adventure. In 1504, when only nineteen years of age, he went to the Indies. In Santo Domingo he enlisted under Diego Velasquez, to war against the non-pacified tribes of Indians in that island. He was afterwards scribe of the Ayuntamiento of Azua, at the same time occupying himself in agricultural pursuits. When Diego Velasquez went to conquer Cuba, in 1511, Cortes accompanied him. In the new field, he was an official of the treasury, and at the same time conducted stock-raising enterprises. In con-

HERNAN CORTES.

sequence of a love affair, in connection with the lady whom he afterwards married, he had a serious quarrel with Velasquez, was imprisoned, escaped, and was forced to seek refuge in a church edifice. Finally, however, the two men became reconciled, and Cortes served as an alcalde of Santiago de Cuba, in 1518.

EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

Diego Velasquez and Cortes fitted out an expedition which was to undertake the conquest of Mexico. The expedition actually sailed on February 10, 1519. As the date for its start approached, Velasquez became suspicious of the designs of Cortes, and undertook to prevent the sailing, but was too late. The expedition, at its start, consisted of eleven vessels, with 508 soldiers, 110 sailors, 32 cross-bowmen, 13 gunners, something more than 200 Indians, 16 mares, 1 stallion, 10 bronze cannon, and 4 falconets. On February 18th, it reached the island of Cozumel where Pedro de Alvardo, lieutenant of Cortes, sacked the temples and the native houses. Cortes disapproved of the violence of Alvarado and restored the property of the Indians. He then sent messages to Yucatan for the purpose of redeeming any captives of Grijalva's earlier expedition, who might remain in the hands of the Indians in that country. Geronimo de Aguilar was thus redeemed and proved of great use to the conqueror on account of his knowledge of the Indians and of some of the native dialects.

The party sailed from Cozumel to Tabasco, ascending the river in their smaller boats from its mouth to a considerable distance. During this excursion, they had three or four battles with the Indians. In the arrangements for peace, the Tabasqueños gave the Spaniards from ten to twenty Indian girls, among whom was one known as La Malintzin. She was taken by Cortes, baptized under the name of Marina, and was of great use to him in his later dealings with the Indians of the country. She had great love for him and was the mother of his son Martin. She figures repeatedly in the story of the conquest. The expedi

tion of Cortes finally returned to San Juan de Ulua on April 21, 1519.

PLAN OF CONQUEST

Cortes now founded, close to San Juan de Ulua, La Villa-Rica de Vera Cruz. He named an *ayuntamiento,* or town government which, in turn, named him captain-general of the conquering force. Here for the first time Cortes heard of Montezuma and the Aztec Tenochtitlan. He then visited the important Indian town of Cempoala, where he learned of the Tlaxcalans and their constant hostility toward Montezuma and his Aztecs. Discovering an insurrection plotting among his followers, Cortes dealt with it promptly, hanging, whipping, and mutilating the plotters. Having decided to march to the interior and undertake the conquest of the Aztec city, he left Cempoala on August 6th, and marched with no events of serious consequence to Tlaxcala. Here, on September 5th, he had an important battle with the Tlaxcalan forces led by a notable chief called Xicotencatl. He defeated the Indian force, and on September 22nd, a treaty was arranged with the Indians and a friendly reception given to the Spaniards in the city of Tlaxcala.

THE TLAXCALANS

From here the Spaniards marched to Cholula, a town at no great distance upon the road to Tenochtitlan. The Cholultecas received the new-comers in a friendly manner; they were plotting treachery, however, a fact discovered by Marina, who informed Cortes of the plot. He called the chiefs together, declared their perfidy to their faces, and slaughtered 3,000 of the people. His Tlaxcalan friends were present and looted, carrying rich booty back to their own city. After having visited the measure of his wrath upon the unfortunate city, he remained two weeks in Cholula before resuming his march to the valley of Mexico.

ARRIVAL AT TENOCHTITLAN

When he started upon this last stage of his journey of invasion, he had great numbers of Tlaxcalan allies as well as a

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NOCHE TRISTE TREE, POPOTLA.

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WEAVING MAGUEY FIBRE, MONTEREY.

considerable force of Texcocans supplied by the Acolhua chief, Ixtlilxochitl, who had quarreled with his brother, Cacama. It was November 8th when the Spanish force arrived at Tenochtitlan, where they were met in state by Montezuma, and Cortes lodged in the palace of Axayacatl. Cortes spent some days in making himself acquainted with the city, in ingratiating himself with Montezumà, and in trying to persuade him to recognize Spanish authority. He found the inhabitants of the great Indian city unfriendly and realized that trouble was brewing. To bring matters to a crisis and exercise authority, he went with several of his trusted lieutenants to the palace of Montezuma and demanded the punishment of a certain cacique who had killed Spaniards. Montezuma, intimidated, yielded to the demand. The chief, Cuauhpopoca, was sent for and was given up to the Spaniards. Cortes ordered that he should be burned alive with seventeen attendants.

SUPPRESSION OF PLOT

At this time Cortes learned that Panfilo de Narvaez with 600 soldiers had been sent from Cuba by Velasquez to remove him from his command. Leaving Pedro de Alvarado in charge during his absence, Cortes hurried to Vera Cruz. He surprised Narvaez in Cempoala, completely defeated him, and with the new forces which he had brought hastened back to Mexico. When he arrived there, he found things going badly. Alvarado had had difficulties, arising from his cruel treatment of the Indians. The Aztecs had desired to hold their regular annual religious festival of the month of May. They had notified Alvarado of their desire and asked permission. He had told them they could hold the festival provided they were not armed. In the midst of their ceremonials, at night, Alvarado, with fifty of his Spaniards, entered the building in which the ceremonies were being conducted and killed the entire party of Indians. The result was to be expected; the Aztecs rose and besieged Alvarado. When Cortes returned he found this trouble at its height. Nor was it easy for him to deal with the difficulty; the Aztecs

were completely aroused and in serious earnest. Cortes found himself in a state of siege. There were constant attacks upon him, sallies, repulses, and retreats. The number of his soldiers was constantly diminishing. The outlook was dark.

A CRITICAL SITUATION

Finally, as a desperate measure, he persuaded Montezuma to harangue his people from the *azotea* of the palace in which they were staying. The ruler unwillingly complied; he harangued his people, but they became the more enraged; arrows were shot, stones hurled, and the great *Chief of Men* was wounded. On the night of June 29th Montezuma died. Some writers say that his death was due to the wounds received from his people; others insist that the Spaniards, in their rage and desperation, murdered him. However that may be, the Spaniards found themselves compelled to withdraw from Tenochtitlan. Their retreat was made on the night of July 1st. It was a fearful flight. A constant attack was made upon the retreating white men. Many Spanish soldiers were drowned or killed. It was with difficulty that Cortes himself made his escape. The night is known in history by the Spanish name *La Noche Triste* (the sad night). It is said that when Cortes reached the village of Popotla he paused to rest under a great cypress tree, and as he contemplated the little remnant of his army, he wept with rage and sorrow over his defeat. The tree is believed to be still standing, and is commonly visited by strangers as one of the sights of Mexico.

BATTLE OF OTUMBA

With the remnant of his force Cortes made his way to Otoncalpolco, where he captured the temple pyramid of the village and fortified it. Here he collected his scattered forces, healed his wounded, and rested. His further retreat from this place was difficult. They were harassed by thousands of the Aztecs. They were reduced to such extremities that they were compelled to eat the dead and worn out horses. They finally reached Otumba

THE CATHEDRAL, CITY OF MEXICO.

where a frightful battle took place with a multitude of the enemy. The day was almost lost when Cortes, noticing the influence of the leader of the attacking force, had the sudden inspiration to attempt his capture. With his trusted followers he made a sudden dash upon the unfortunate chief, seizing him and taking possession of the standard. The tide of battle was turned by this act, and a great victory gained by the Spanish force.

After this incident, Cortes made his way to the city of Tlaxcala where he was well received by the chief in charge, Maxixcatzin. The Spanish losses had been great—450 soldiers, 26 horses, and 4,000 Indian allies were left dead. In the midst of his faithful Tlaxcalan allies, Cortes rested, recuperated, and strengthened his ties with the Tlaxcalan people. He made various campaigns from the Tlaxcalan territory, including one to Vera Cruz. Toward the end of December he felt himself in the position to resume the offensive.

On December 26th he set out again for the valley of Mexico with 700 foot-soldiers, 118 cross-bowmen, 86 horses, and 50,000 Indian allies. He reached Texcoco on December 31st. Here he hung Xicotencatl, his first Tlaxcalan ally, for desertion. Here he constructed and launched upon the lake several small brigs. It is said that his Indian allies supplied 16,000 canoes. His lieutenants, Alvarado, Olid, and Sandoval, were sent by land to close in from three sides upon the city. He himself was to approach with his brigs and canoes by water, and with him were the hosts of native allies—Tlaxcalans, Cholultecas, and Acolhuas from Texcoco.

THE LAST STRUGGLE

When Montezuma died, his brother, Cuitlahuac, had become chief of men; he soon died of smallpox. When Cortes with his enormous force appeared, the nephew of Montezuma, Cuauhtemoc, was in the position of Aztec leader. He was a young man of little more than twenty years; he was brave, wise, and patriotic. He had made preparations for the attack. Provisions

had been brought together, strategic points fortified, the causeways had been cut, a great fleet of canoes had been prepared. Cuauhtemoc himself was in personal charge of the Aztec forces. A brave defense was made. The enormous army of Cortes made repeated attempts upon the city and were frequently repulsed with vigorous fighting and much loss. For a long time the struggle dragged on. Cortes found that he could make headway only by destroying all the houses and filling the canals with their debris. Little by little pursuing this policy, he made advance. The besieged Aztecs suffered frightfully, but repeatedly refused to surrender their city. Famine and disease afflicted them. At last their dwindling force was too sadly weakened to defend the city longer. After eighty days of formal siege, Tenochtitlan was surrendered. This took place on August 13, 1521. The brave chieftain, Cuauhtemoc, was at first well treated. Cortes, on the surrender of the city, ordered the dead to be burned and the city cleaned. Later on, impelled by that heart-disease which only gold can cure, Cortes permitted Cuauhtemoc to be tortured in the hope that he would surrender the secret of the Aztec treasure which had disappeared.

CORTES IN CHARGE

Upon the site of the old Indian city the Spanish City of Mexico was built. Cortes assumed control of the conquered territory as governor, captain-general, and chief magistrate. Actually all power centered in him; but he left some degree of authority in the hands of native chiefs. Olid, who had been sent to Central America, plotted an insurrection. Cortes went in person to suppress it; but when he arrived, he found that his rebellious lieutenant was already dead.

CAUSES OF EASY CONQUEST

The further story of Cortes does not particularly interest us. There are, however, some things connected with the conquest which deserve mention. From a certain point of view, the Conquest of Mexico was a great military achievement. It was the

victory of a little handful of invaders against enormous crowds of brave and warlike enemies. The ease of the conquest, however, was due to a variety of causes. To begin with, Cortes was no novice in Indian warfare; he had already gained experience in battling against the refractories of Santa Domingo. Again, we must remember that the great advantage which the Indians had in numbers was lost in the disparity of the forces in the matter of arms and equipment; the Aztecs had never seen horses, and the mounted soldiers were at a great advantage; the Indians were armed with darts and slings, clubs and wooden swords with inlaid splinters of obsidian; against these simple weapons were firearms and cross-bows. Again, the Aztecs were at a great disadvantage in their idea of warfare; it had always been their practice to capture, not to kill, the enemy; the practice of the Spaniards of course was to destroy as many lives as possible. Another fact which contributed to the easy victory of Cortes is to be found in the superstitious fears of the Indians against those whom they fought; when the white men first appeared, they were looked upon as sacred or divine; the Aztecs were looking for the return of their fair god, Quetzalcoatl, who was to come across the seas from the East; prophecy indicated that his coming was at hand; and when the Spaniards appeared, they were considered at least the messengers of Quetzalcoatl; it was some time before the natives realized that the new-comers were dangerous humans, not kindly deities. The most important aid, however, was the fact that Cortes found a country occupied by already warring and hostile tribes; if there had been a bond of union between the Mexican Indians, and they had made common cause against the Spaniards, of course the invaders would have stood no chance of victory. But the people of Tlaxcala were hostile to the Cholultecas, only a few miles distant from them; both quarrelled with Texcoco; between the Tlaxcalans and the Aztecs there were feuds of long duration. It was because of these petty tribal bickerings and difficulties that Cortes utilized tribe against tribe and won.

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INDIAN MARKET AT OMEALCO. PEANUTS ARE KNOWN BY THE AZTEC NAME CACAHUATES. THE DRESS HERE WORN IS THE CHARACTERISTIC DRESS OF COMMON MEXICANS, BOTH MESTIZO AND INDIANS OF THE MORE ACCESSIBLE DISTRICTS.

GUADALUPE

THE RELIGIOUS CONQUEST—THE STORY OF THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE—THE NATION'S PATRON—DECEMBER 12 IN MEXICO—THE CROWNING OF THE VIRGIN—ALTAMIRANO'S VERDICT.

IN the Aztec language not only nouns and verbs had reverential forms. Even adjectives and adverbs possessed them. It is suggestive of the psychology of the tribe.

The only ruins that remain of buildings of the Indians of ancient Mexico are those for governmental and religious purposes. They are palaces or temples. The common people lived in huts, but they provided splendid and permanent constructions for their rulers and their priests. Throughout Indian Mexico to-day the town-house and the church are buildings, which would outlast the simple houses of the villagers.

THE RELIGIOUS CONQUEST

Close after the conquest of Mexico by the soldier and the sword, came its conquest by the priest and book. Devoted men promptly set themselves to work to bring the pagan populace of the newly conquered region into the bosom of the church. The story of their conquest is as interesting as that of the followers of Cortes. The rapidity of the work of conversion to Christianity was phenomenal. It is as marked as the ease with which the material conquest was accomplished. Hundreds—nay, thousands—were converted under the preaching of single apostles of the faith. Among the missionaries were men of gentle blood, of learning—men who had been powers had they stayed in Europe. They submitted to every hardship, risked every danger, courted martyrdom. Many actually met death, and a great volume could be filled with an account of their consecrated efforts.

No religion ever makes great headway among a new people until it is able to take over the sacred places of the old religion. Outside the old City of Mexico, there was a place sacred to the mother-god, Tonantzin. It must have been a place of popular

pilgrimage and sanctity. It is to-day the most sacred spot in Mexico, and in connection with it there is a story. All have heard it, but it will bear repeating.

THE STORY OF THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

We shall repeat it as told by Vetancurt, the monk, in 1672. Janvier translates the record from his chronicle as follows: "Juan Diego, a native of Cuauhtitlan, living with his wife, Lucia Maria, in the town of Tolpetlac, went to hear mass in the church of Santiago Tlaltelolco, on the morning of Saturday, December 9, 1531. As he was near the hill called Tepeyacac, he heard the music of angels. Then beheld he amid splendors, a Lady who spoke to him, and directed him to go to the Bishop and tell that it was her will that in that place should be built to her a temple. Upon his knees he listened to her bidding, and then, happy and confused, betook himself to the Bishop with the message that she had given him. But while the Bishop, Don Juan Zumarraga, heard him kindly, he could not give credence to the prodigy that he was told. With this disconsolate answer, he returned, finding there again the Lady, who heard what he had to tell and bade him come to her again. Therefore, on the Sunday ensuing, he was at the hillside, when she appeared to him for the third time and repeated her order that he should convey to the Bishop her command that a temple should be built. The Bishop heard the message, still incredulous, and ordered that the Indian should bring him some sure sign by which he might be shown that what he told was true; and when the Indian departed, the Bishop said to some of his servants to watch him secretly. Yet, as he neared the holy hill, he disappeared from the sight of these watchers. Unseen, then, of these, he met the Lady and told her that he had been required to bring some sure sign of her appearance; and she told him to come again the next day, and he should have that sign. But when he came to his home, he found his uncle, Juan Bernardino, lying very ill. Through the next day he was in attendance upon the sick man; but the sickness increased, and early on the morning of December 12th, he went to call a con-

fessor from Tlaltelolco. That he might not be delayed in his quest by that Lady's importunity, he went not by the usual path, but by another, skirting the eastern side of the hill. But as he passed the hill, he saw the Lady coming down to him and heard her calling to him. He told her his errand and of its urgent need of quickness, whereupon she replied that he need not feel further troubled, as already his uncle's illness was cured. Then ordered she him to cut some flowers on that barren hill, and to his amazement, he perceived flowers growing there. She charged him to take these miraculous flowers to the Bishop as the sign that he had requested; and she commanded that Juan Diego should show them to no other until they were seen of the Bishop's eyes. Therefore, he wrapped them in his *tilma,* or blanket, and hastened away. And then, from the spot where most Holy Mary stood, there gushed forth a spring of brackish water, which now is venerated and is an antidote to infirmities. Juan Diego waited at the entrance of the Bishop's house until he came out, and when he appeared and the flowers were shown him, there was seen the image of the Virgin beautifully painted upon the Indian's *tilma.* The Bishop placed the miraculous picture in his oratory, venerating it greatly; and Juan Diego, returning to his home with two servants of the Bishop, found that his uncle had been healed of his sickness in the very hour that the Virgin declared that he was well. As quickly as possible the Bishop caused a chapel to be built upon the spot where the Virgin had appeared and where the miraculous roses had sprung up from the barren rock; and here he placed the holy image on the 7th of February, 1532."

THE NATION'S PATRON

The miraculous painting has long been an object of reverence to all true Mexicans. The picture, reproduced in every form, is to be seen in the poorest houses throughout the whole Republic. She is preeminently, however, the patron of the Indians. December 12th is celebrated as a national holiday. On that date the throng of Mexicans of every grade at the great church of Guadalupe is enormous. The summit of the rock to-day is crowned with

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THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, GUADALUPE.

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ZAPOTEC INDIAN WOMEN. TLACOLULA.

a little church known as the *Capilla del Cerrito* (chapel of the hill); the sacred spring, which sprung forth at the place where her foot trod, is sheltered by a pretty chapel known as the *Capilla del Pocito* (the chapel of the well). At the base of the rock upon the place where she made her fourth apparition, stands the great collegiate church, one of the finest in Mexico. Until lately, a monumental shaft on the lower hill-slope near the chapel of the well, marked the place of her first apparition.

DECEMBER 12 IN MEXICO

On Guadalupe Day, the whole place is occupied by the crowd of people. Thousands ascend the rock to the little chapel of the hill. Thousands carry away vessels of the healing water from the yellow spring which still gushes forth abundantly. Thousands of candles are offered in the collegiate church. On the streets, groups of Indians dressed according to their notions of the ancient custom, playing old-fashioned instruments of music, indulge in pretty dances to simple songs of praise in honor of the Virgin. Nor is pilgrimage and celebration confined to the single day of December 12th. Throughout the year people come from many portions of the Republic, and a pilgrimage to Guadalupe is almost obligatory in the mind of the common people. So popular was she, so beloved, so trusted that her image was borne upon the banner which led the forces of the revolution under the priest Hidalgo in 1910. To her the popular mind attributed the victory when, after years of struggle, Mexico succeeded in freeing herself from Spain.

THE CROWNING OF THE VIRGIN

In 1895, the occasion of the coronation of the Virgin of Guadalupe was one of the most interesting and impressive functions ever witnessed within the limits of the Republic. It is said that almost a half million people from outside were gathered in the city. The open spaces for a long distance around the rock and the commemorating churches were filled at night with common people sleeping out-of-doors on the ground. The collegiate church had

been reconstructed and splendidly adorned; its walls were decorated with enormous paintings relative to the history of the apparition and to the religious conquest of the country; these paintings, some of good merit, were given by different dioceses, in various parts of the Republic. Other decorations of the church of great value represent donations, showing the widespread and deep interest of the people. The ceremony proper of the coronation was participated in by church dignitaries from many lands.

ALTAMIRANO'S VERDICT

One of the most famous Mexican writers, Altamirano, himself an Indian and a man of great ability, wrote an important and delightful study of *La Fiesta de Guadalupe* (the festival of Guadalupe). It sketches the whole history of the famous virgin, from the time of the claimed apparition up to the date when he wrote; he presents the interesting discussion which has taken place regarding the authenticity of the tradition; it is one of the most interesting critical discussions ever written regarding any Mexican matter. He himself was a liberal of liberals—in fact, a pronounced free thinker. He closes his interesting discussion with the following words: "We have at last arrived at the present epoch. The worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe, although without official support, continues as fervent and as universal as formerly, except that now it is a cult exclusively religious and peaceful. And no one raised the Guadalupe ensign in the civil contests, nor in the national wars of 1846 and 47 against the North Americans; nor did the patriots unfurl it in the war of 1861 to 1867 against the French imperialists. Some there are who believe that if, during the first of these national wars the image of the Mexican Virgin had been placed upon our banners as in 1810, the Yankees would not have entered into Mexico. It is more than doubtful and, moreover, experience has proved that the enthusiasm for the national image has been efficacious against the Spaniards only.

"To-day nothing is written in favor of the apparition nor is there necessity of it. The cult is established; no one interests

himself in contradicting it. . . . There is nothing new said about it; the Mexicans unanimously adore the Virgin—those who profess Catholic ideas, for religious motives; the liberals, from memory of the banner of the year '10; the Indians, because it is their only goddess; strangers, in order not to wound the national sentiment;—and all consider it as an essentially Mexican symbol. . . . The festivals each time are celebrated with equal pomp; it is difficult to encounter a Mexican family in which there is not some feminine, or even masculine person, who is named "Guadalupe," and there is no one to whom the pronunciation of this name does not evoke some memory. The day in which the Virgin of Tepeyac is not worshiped in this land there will certainly have disappeared not only the Mexican nationality, but even the very memory of the inhabitants of the Mexico of to-day."

These are strong words for a free thinker to utter. They are not perhaps too strong. There are few things which unite Mexicans in a common bond of sympathy. Most of the influences separate and divide them. A common affection and reverence for their national Virgin is perhaps the strongest tie.

THE GLORIOUS CENTURY—AND AFTER

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION—SIXTEENTH CENTURY CULTURE—BOOK PRINTING—INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—MEXICO UNDER THE VICEROYS—MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT—SPAIN'S POLICY—DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CREOLES—EDUCATION NEGLECTED—RELIGIOUS SITUATION—VASSALAGE AND SLAVERY—MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION.

TENOCHTITLAN was razed; its canals were filled with its debris. A new city was reared upon its site. For a time Cortes ruled supreme in Mexico. In 1522 a town government—*ayuntamiento*—was organized; in 1528 an *audiencia,* consisting of five commissioners to act as a check upon the governor and *ayuntamiento,* was appointed. In 1535 the first actual viceroy was named.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

So much for civil government in the new colony. In 1524 the famous twelve apostles of the Francisco Order came to Mexico. Dominicans soon followed them. In 1527 the first Bishop of Mexico was appointed. Before vice-royalty, ecclesiastical organization existed. Through the Dominicans the Holy Office, or Inquisition, was introduced. Let it be said in passing that Indians were exempted from its operation. The ecclesiastical establishment thus early perfected possessed great political influence throughout the history of Mexico. Particularly were the Dominicans ambitious and influential in governmental matters.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY CULTURE

Remember the time—it was the sixteenth century. There grew up in Mexico a splendid city with the wealth, culture, and refinement of the day. On the whole, it was a glorious century. In the City of Mexico the university was opened in 1553. Throngs of students were awaiting for the day when its doors should permit their entrance. In its curriculum it was patterned

after the University of Salamanca, then at the height of its glory; the faculty of the new institution was drawn from the graduates and doctors of the old school. All this took place in Mexico almost seventy years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock!

BOOK PRINTING

From time to time we read that The Bay Psalter was the earliest piece of printing in America. Such a claim of course is false. Perhaps the first printing-press in North America was established in 1535 in the City of Mexico. During the sixteenth century there were various printing-houses, and many books were published. After more than three hundred years, their paper, type, ink, and binding are frequently in fine condition. More than two hundred different books printed in the City of Mexico before the year 1600 are known in libraries—many more probably have disappeared forever. In 1571 the second edition of Molina's Aztec Dictionary was printed in Mexico; it is said to have been a more voluminous lexicon than existed of the English language at that time.

The man who made a scientific discovery, produced a creditable literary work, wrought a work of art—painting or sculpture—was expected to present his production publicly for criticism, discussion, and approval. Such presentations were made the occasion of public gatherings—the fact in itself indicates an interesting intellectual and social condition.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

In the sixteenth century, in Mexico, Pedro de Gante, in his work for Indians, developed a genuine industrial school—too often considered one of the late developments of the new education—in the City of Mexico.

Pedro de Gante was really a remarkable man. He was blood-relative of the Emperor Charles V. He founded, and for fifty years directed, the great school of San Francisco. It stood and the convent church which, by the way, was the first church

built in Mexico. Icazbalceta says: "There our lay brother brought together fully a thousand boys to whom he imparted religious and civil instruction. Later he added the study of Latin, of music, and of singing, by which means he did a great service to the clergy because from there went forth musicians and singers for all the churches. Not satisfied with this achievement, he brought together also adults, with whom he established an industrial school. He provided the churches with painted or sculptured figures; with embroidered ornaments, sometimes with designs interspersed in the feather-work in which the Indians were so distinguished; with crosses, candle-stick, standards, and many other objects valuable for church service, no less than with workmen for the construction of the churches themselves, for he had in that school painters, sculptors, engravers, stone-cutters, carpenters, embroiderers, tailors, shoemakers, and other trades-workers. He attended to all, and was master of all."

MEXICO UNDER THE VICEROYS

But after all, little resulted from this brilliant promise. The splendor of the sixteenth century was succeeded by a period of stagnation. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were dreary periods in Mexico. From the date of the conquest to the success of the independence struggle a long list of viceroys ruled —more than sixty of them—few of whom were above mediocrity. There was wealth indeed, much formality, and a certain luxury. But of real advancement there was none. The rulers, for the most part, were adventurers, of good families, who must be provided for. They came poor, they went rich. The salary for a long period for the viceroy was $40,000 per year; from 1689 onward it was raised to $70,000. The actual salary, however, was a relatively unimportant matter. The opportunities for a bad ruler to gain wealth were great. Some of these methods were quite legitimate; many of them were far from being so, and corruption was rampant.

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OLD BRIDGE, AMATLAN.

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FOUNTAIN, MEXICO CITY.

MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT

It is a mistake to think of Mexico during the viceroyalty as undeveloped. It is true, as we shall shortly see, that advance in many lines was discouraged or prevented. But there were many great estates. There were men who had lands upon which were thousands of tenants almost in the position of serfs. There were great mining enterprises, employing thousands of workers and producing enormous wealth. Every city had well-built, substantial, and expensive public buildings. Churches, cathedrals, and monasteries abounded; they presented a type of architecture largely developed within the country itself, but in construction, decoration, and extravagance they were notable. Good roads existed in many portions of the country, some of them well paved with stone. Great public works, like aqueducts for bringing water from the mountains across miles of intervening country to the cities were constructed, some of which still remain, in part or whole, to tell the story of the constructive skill of the workers of the time. The great tunnel cut of Nochistongo still remains to show the magnificence of public works undertaken for the general welfare. Intended to defend the city against risk of flooding, the great tunnel, representing many years of work, much money, and a frightful death-list among the workers, was an interesting early experiment in drainage.

SPAIN'S POLICY

The fact was, that very soon after the establishment of the colony of Mexico, or New Spain, as it was called, it was conducted solely with the interests of the mother-country in view. Spain's idea of colonization was to get all the wealth possible from her possessions. Wealth was drained from Mexico to Spain. Only those things were encouraged in the way of enterprise which produced an immediate value to be transported to the home-land. Mining of course did this, and mining was the chief industry throughout the period of the viceroys. On the other hand, the production of anything which was already pro-

duced on a large scale in Spain itself was discouraged in New Spain. Olives would have flourished in Mexico, but the raising of olives would have prevented the introduction of oil from Spain; vineyards might have been developed on a large scale in the new country, but Spain already produced wines beyond her needs, and needed a field for exportation; silk probably could have been easily produced in Mexico, but silk again, was a Spanish product. So production in many promising lines was prohibited in Mexico for fear of its interfering with Spain's exports.

In the same way, and for the same reason, there was no encouragement of discovery, invention, or manufacture in the new world. All progress in those directions was frowned upon or actually prevented. With abundant and numerous natural water-powers, no development was tolerated, and the opportunity for useful employment of hundreds of thousands of workers was absolutely closed.

Not only so, but rigid laws regarding trade were put in operation. Trade was permitted only with the mother-country, and Spanish vessels only were allowed to carry exports and imports. Elsewhere in our discussion we shall find that there were trade relations between Mexico and the Orient. These relations, however, were not independent; they were in the hands of Spaniards, conducted by means of Spanish galleons, and for the benefit of Spain. Only incidentally were they advantageous to the colony.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CREOLES

Not only was the viceroyalty considered an opportunity for providing for needy Spaniards—every position in government and church was considered as an advantage for Spaniards only. This was most literally enforced; Spaniards meant "peninsulars." Creoles, the children of Spaniards born in Mexico, though of pure Spanish blood, were not considered fit for offices or positions of trust and importance in their own country. This discrimination against creoles was one of the sore spots in the whole history of Mexico under the viceroys. That persons of pure Spanish blood, descended from immigrants of good stand-

ing, irrespective of their inherited qualities, should be deprived of opportunity was galling. Yet through the three centuries of Spain's control this discrimination was constant. It showed itself in state and church. Augustin Rivera presents interesting statistics. He says that out of the sixty-two viceroys of Mexico, fifty-nine were Spaniards from the peninsula, and only three were creoles—of these three one only was born in Mexico; out of thirty-three bishops of Guadalajara, twenty-six were Spanish peninsulars and seven were creoles—five of them Mexicans; out of thirty-four bishops of Michoacan, thirty were Spanish peninsulars, and four were creoles—two only Mexicans; out of thirty-one archbishops of Mexico, twenty-nine were Spanish peninsulars, and two were creoles.

EDUCATION NEGLECTED

While the University of Mexico was founded in 1553 under such excellent auspices and with such promise, while printing presses did great work in the sixteenth century, while public literary controversies suggest an interesting intellectual condition, and while Pedro de Gante's industrial school was attended by many hundreds—education was not encouraged by Spain in Mexico. No. This promise, so brilliant, disappeared. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Mexican education was poor in quality, meagre in amount. It was blindly realized that it would not help the mother-country to have higher education thoroughly developed among creoles, *mestizos* and Indians. At the same time it must be admitted that education in the mother-country also languished during this period.

RELIGIOUS SITUATION

The splendid record of the early missionaries was not continued, unfortunately, by their successors. Success in propaganda led to pride and luxury. Had the priests failed to take advantage of the exceptional opportunities which they enjoyed, they would have been both less and more than human. They were in contact with a people who, throughout their history, sac-

rificed themselves and all they had to the demands of religion. Subservient, superstitious, devout, and enthusiastic, the Indian converts were easily led and easily controlled. The condition of the church during the last portion of the vice-royal period left much to be desired. In fact, it was one of the great causes for complaint.

A well known writer says: "In the seventeenth century, the beneficial influence of the religious orders began to wane. They had grown rich and worldly; the Carmelites, who had come to Mexico as late as 1585, had become so wealthy that they owned estates in the province of San Luis Potosi, one hundred leagues in extent, reaching from the city of that name to Tampico. The protection of the Indians from the aggression of the colonists previously afforded by the Orders, was greatly relaxed. It is not without significance that one great source of the church's wealth during this period was found in the opulent colonists, who, by their munificent gifts to the church, were able to acquire an ascendency over the ecclesiastical authorities and maintain it ready for use whenever an emergency arose, rendering it serviceable. . . . So it came about most naturally that the influence of the religious orders proved exceedingly harmful during the last of the three centuries of Spanish rule in Mexico. The Dominicans, who had all along been a dominating power, had, by the exercise of the functions of the Holy Office, engendered a deep feeling of hatred for the religious government, and this hatred reacted upon the political government so closely connected with it. The Dominicans alone might be said to have furnished a powerful cause for the overthrow of Spanish rule, at the very time when they were laboring hardest to uphold it as it manifested signs of tottering. And all the orders—by seizing and holding vast amounts of property, by building churches and monasteries in times when the people were suffering the most abject poverty, and by enforcing the law of tithes, thus gaining control of wealth which should have been applied in encouraging industry and relieving the needs of the people—conspired to

stimulate the popular discontent which finally broke out into open revolt."

VASSALAGE AND SLAVERY

Under the circumstances, only a certain kind of agriculture and the industry of mining had a chance for development. In the very nature of things, both of these led naturally to vassalage and slavery. The only form of agriculture profitable was that of large estates upon which great numbers of laborers were maintained at the least possible cost. The pattern for such conditions of course already existed in those of Europe at the time; even if it had not, such estates would have developed naturally in the New World. Such conditions of course prevailed upon the great estates belonging to the church. Such at first grew up in the most natural and legitimate fashion. The newly converted Indians were completely under the influence of their religious teachers. They flocked in droves to their teachers and settled immediately about the monastery. Under the direction of the friars they learned arts and trades, constructed buildings, worked the fields. At first the relation was a happy and helpful one, and the kindest spirit existed between the friars and their Indians. With the development of wealth and luxury within the Orders, this relation naturally changed, and toward the end, the condition of the laborers upon the religious estates was that of serfs. What was true upon the properties belonging to the church was still more true, and earlier, in individual holdings in the country. There, usually there was no pretense of instructing or improving the laborers upon the property. They were supported, but received practically no wages; they built their little houses upon the property of their master, and received from his hand their scanty clothing and their necessary food. They were not actually owned by the owner of the estate, and perhaps were free to leave the property. If they did so, however, there was nothing they could do save to connect themselves with some new master upon some similar estate.

As for the labor in the mines, it still more nearly approxi-

mated the conditions of actual slavery. Mining is hard work; unless well paid, it presents little attraction to the worker; Indians particularly—always accustomed to a simple out-door life of agriculture—were little likely to go to mining from free choice. Under the conditions of the viceroyalty, forced labor became a necessity if precious metals were to be produced. Thus, through the system of agriculture and the development of mining, the Indians and the common people of mixed blood were, for the most part, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, in a state of peonage or actual slavery.

MAKE-UP OF POPULATION

Such were the conditions of Mexico after almost three hundred years of Spanish rule. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were perhaps something more than six million in the population. In the year 1793, the viceroy estimated the make-up of the population of the country as follows: Out of a total of something over five million people, there were ten thousand Europeans, nearly seven hundred thousand creoles, one million five hundred thousand *mestizos,* or people of mixed blood, and two million two hundred and twenty-five thousand Indians.

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FALLS OF JUANACATLAN.

A VILLAGE PRIEST

TROUBLES IN SPAIN—COMPLAINTS OF THE COLONISTS—THE FIRST MARTYR, VERDAD—CURA HIDALGO—THE CRY OF INDEPENDENCE—CAPTURE OF GUANAJUATO—CONDITIONS IN THE CAPITAL—THE BATTLE OF LAS CRUCES—HIDALGO FLEES TO GUADALAJARA—PUNISHMENT OF GUANAJUATO—THE NEW GOVERNMENT—THE BATTLE AT THE BRIDGE—THE END OF HIDALGO'S REVOLUTION—MEXICAN CRUELTY.

APODACA.

ALEXANDER HUMBOLDT in his great work, "The Political History of New Spain," in 1803, asserted that the great majority of Mexicans were entirely indifferent to their political rights, and not likely to join in any effort to gain them. Not that the yoke of Spain was pleasant; but among the people there were few, if any, who were fit for leadership, or who clearly saw a method of escape from tyranny.

TROUBLES IN SPAIN

In 1808 the viceroy was Jose turrigaray. He was by no means a bad ruler. He encouraged rogress and held advanced ideas. The moment was a difficult ne. Spain was suffering humiliation. The great Napoleon as casting longing eyes upon the peninsular kingdom. Through is meddling, the Spanish king, Carlos IV, had resigned his hrone, and his son, the Prince of Asturias, had ascended to the ingship, under the name of Ferdinand VII. Napoleon encourged dissension between father and son, and finally, under retense of arbitrating difficulties, persuaded Ferdinand to come

to Bayonne, where he was thrown into prison. A proclamation issued, apparently under stress, by Ferdinand VII, urged the people to submit to Napoleon's schemes. But the nation was aroused, and loyalty to the imprisoned king led to the formation, in different parts of Spain, of *juntas* which assumed local and temporary governmental ruling in his name. To further his own schemes, Napoleon sent emissaries to the colonies in order to stir up sedition and gain favor for his cause. He finally occupied Spain, and his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, ruled as king for the period which ended in 1813.

COMPLAINTS OF THE COLONISTS

Naturally Mexico felt the effect of these Spanish difficulties. Three elements of the population should be carefully distinguished in dealing with the events of the time: The *Audiencia,* or local government, conservative and despotic, was confined completely to non-progressive platforms and with it were the Spaniards sent from the peninsula as officials, or who had come on their own account as adventurers. The *creoles,* of pure Spanish blood but born in Mexico, were the discontented class; they were treated as inferiors and were refused all appointments of trust and honor in church and state; they were repressed in every laudable effort to develop and advance the country. It was from this class, and this class only, that hostility to Spain was to be expected. The great mass of the people, *Indians* and *mixed bloods* were, as Humboldt said, indifferent to their political rights. On the whole, there was not in Mexico serious opposition displayed to Spain as such, nor to Ferdinand as ruler. It was realized, however, that it was impossible for Mexico to be satisfactorily governed by petty and local *juntas* in Spain. These *juntas* were loyal to the legitimate ruler of the country. But if that kind of government were to exist, it would be better to have a local *junta* in Mexico, recognizing Ferdinand VII as king, but dealing directly with the affairs of the country. This idea was in harmony with the aspirations of the creoles, and it had the approval of the viceroy. It would have been a step forward in

the direction of good government. But the *Audiencia* and the Spaniards were vigorously against the plan. They declared that the viceroy was seeking to establish himself in power; that the movement was aimed against the king. Iturrigaray was seized, compelled to leave the city, imprisoned for a time in San Juan Ulua, and at last sent as a prisoner to Spain.

THE FIRST MARTYR—VERDAD

The reactionaries put an old soldier, Pedro Garibay, into the position of viceroy. He did not hold office for long, being removed by the regency of Cadiz. During his administration, however, one event of serious interest took place. Among the dissatisfied and thinking creoles was a *licenciado,* named Verdad. He was outspoken in his hostility to the Spaniards and their control; he indulged in writing sharp and sarcastic criticisms. He was accused of treason, seized, and hung. He was the first martyr to the new cause.

When Garibay was removed, the Archbishop of Mexico, Francisco Javier Lizana, was appointed viceroy. This was in 1809. The Archbishop was a man of ideas and acted with some vigor. He raised a loan of 3,000,000 *pesos,* of which 2,000,000 was sent to the mother-country; he organized a militia and ordered considerable purchases of arms; he embargoed the goods of prominent Mexicans who were Bonapartist sympathizers; he publicly burned one of the seditious proclamations of Napoleon Bonaparte; learning of a conspiracy hatching at Valladolid, he promptly took steps for its suppression. But the influences at Cadiz were against him, and in 1810 he was succeeded by Pedro Catani. A little later in the same year, a new viceroy arrived in Mexico, taking office September 14, 1810. His name was Francisco Javier Venegas.

CURA HIDALGO

The hero of Mexico's revolution is the simple village priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. He was born at Cuitzeo, Guanajuato, on May 8, 1753. He studied at Valladolid (now known by the

name Morelia). He was educated in the famous old school of *San Nicolas de Valladolid*, of which institution he became rector. In 1779 he took sacred orders at the City of Mexico. He was appointed to various parishes, and in 1810 was parish priest at the village of Dolores, in the State of Guanajuato not far from the capital city of the same name. He was a man of considerable ability. He knew French, at that time a less common accomplishment in Mexico than at present, and was interested in agriculture and in industrial development. He encouraged his people in habits of industry and succeeded in developing extensive vineyards, the raising of silk-worms, and the making of pottery among his parishioners. Such development, however, was not in accordance with the ideas of the Spanish rulers. His vineyards had been destroyed, and his other enterprises hampered by their hostility.

MARIA JOSEFA ORTIZ.

Perhaps these interferences with his legitimate enterprises had a part in strengthening his hostility to the existing policies. However that may be, he was interested in conspiring against the government. The conspiracy was not confined to him nor to his immediate neighborhood. Plans had been maturing in various towns, and many were interested in them. It was the pre-

mature discovery in Queretaro of these conspiracies that precipitated the revolution before plans were ripe. At Queretaro the corregidor, Miguel Dominguez, had been the leader of the movement. Upon learning of the plotting, the government ordered the seizure of the conspirators everywhere. Learning that he was certain to be seized, if he delayed, Hidalgo late on the night of September 15—at 11 P. M. indeed—gave the famous *grito de Dolores.*

THE CRY OF INDEPENDENCE

It was the cry of independence. With him at the moment were his brother, Mariano, Jose Santos Villa, Aldama, and Allende, and ten armed men. Two of these men are notably famous in the list of Mexican heroes—Aldama and Allende. Allende particularly was a man of weight. He was born at San Miguel Grande, January 20, 1779. He was rich and of good family and was trained for the profession of arms, becoming captain of the Queen's dragoons. Creole, cultured, and ambitious, he naturally found the limitations to which he was subjected, galling, and early became interested in the conspiracies. He was frequently in the councils of the plotters, both at San Miguel and Queretaro.

The *grito* given, the little band of fifteen men, all armed, went to the village jail, where they released the prisoners and supplied them with swords. They then went to the parish church where people began assembling, news of the rising spreading rapidly. By dawn of the 16th, a great crowd was assembled, under the orders of the beloved priest.

The crowd proceeded to the important city of San Miguel Grande, where they arrived at night. Allende there joined them, bringing over with him as an aid to the revolt the Queen's Regiment of which he was in command. They proceeded to organize the army. Hidalgo was made General of the forces, Allende, Lieutenant-General. The newly formed army marched to Celaya, where their numbers were increased to fully fifty thousand men.

CAPTURE OF GUANAJUATO

Proceeding to the city of Guanajuato, on the 25th of the month they demanded its surrender. The demand was refused. The city officials, together with the Spaniards of the city, took refuge in the *Castillo de Granaditas,* carrying great treasure with them. Several assaults were made by the insurgent force against the building without result. Finally, however, it was captured, and all the people who had taken refuge in it were massacred. The city was panic-stricken. The revolutionary forces, without training and discipline, went completely beyond the control of their leaders. Looting, arson, and murder took place. When, finally, order was restored, Hidalgo proceeded to organize a local government; he established a cannon-foundry; a mint was instituted, and coins issued for the new government. On Oct. 10, the insurrectionists set out for the city of Valladolid, where they arrived on the night of the 17th. There the army was completely reorganized, supplies were secured, and preparations made for an advance movement upon the City of Mexico. When all was ready, the army of the revolution set out upon the main road, which coincided with the present line of the Mexican National Railway. When it reached Monte de las Cruces, 100,000 men were in line.

CONDITIONS IN THE CAPITAL

The new viceroy, Venegas, had meantime been active. Acting on his orders, the bishops and Holy Office excommunicated Hidalgo and his companions. Friars preached sermons against the popular movement. There was panic and terror in the city. Citizens were fleeing to other places, treasure was being concealed, preparations were being made for defense. A well trained army of 3,000 under Trujillo was sent against the rebels in hope of staying their forward progress. On October 30th a terrible battle took place, known in history as the Battle of Las Cruces.

THE BATTLE OF LAS CRUCES

It was the pitting of trained troops, supplied with artillery, against an enormous multitude of undisciplined men with motley equipment. The result of the battle was that the army of the viceroy was wiped out of existence; Trujillo himself, one major, and a cornet escaped. If Hidalgo had been a soldier and pushed on immediately after this victory, it is probable that the revolution would have been successful. At the moment Mexico was absolutely undefended, and no force could have been put into the field against him. He tarried, however, at the field of victory and then ordered a retreat. No one knows why the priest-general made such a blunder from the military point of view. It is possible that he feared the horrors which would certainly occur if his unruly mob were once in possession of the wealthy capital. His retreat caused dissatisfaction among his people. Many deserted. With the remainder he started toward the north, and at Aculco, unexpectedly, met with a Spanish force which had been organized in the interior of the country. In the battle which ensued, the revolutionists were defeated and dispersed. Allende and his aids found their way to Guanajuato. Hidalgo reached Valladolid.

HIDALGO FLEES TO GUADALAJARA

In Valladolid it was learned that Jose Antonio Torres had seized Guadalajara, the Spanish authorities fleeing from the city. Hidalgo succeeded in gathering about seven thousand new recruits, and went to Guadalajara, where he arrived November 26th. In Guanajuato, Allende had made efforts to prepare himself to meet Felix Maria Calleja, who was approaching from the City of Mexico with a well organized force. As there was no hope of assistance from Hidalgo, after some resistance, Allende evacuated toward the north, soon turning west, and reaching Guadalajara on December 12th.

PUNISHMENT OF GUANAJUATO

Calleja occupied Guanajuato, and as a punishment to the city for having failed to defend itself against the revolutionists, and

for harboring them after their defeat at Aculco, was permitting the most hideous pillage. It is said that, in his official report he boasted, by cutting the throats of the inhabitants of the city, he had saved the Government expense in powder and shot. It is claimed that 14,000 persons were "put to the knife." In the midst of this hideous slaughter, it is said that a bold priest, Belaunzaran, personally remonstrated with the Spanish leader; his intervention was effective, and the pillage checked; but something more than fifty Mexicans were apprehended and shot as a final warning. Valladolid also was occupied by royalist forces and the whole revolutionary movement was thus centered and isolated in Guadalajara.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

In that city, meantime, Hidalgo was organizing a government. He assumed the title Generalissimo; he appointed two ministers of Government—one at the head of a Department of Grace and Justice, the other at the head of a Department of State and Business. He sent a commissioner to the United States to announce the organization of the new government and to ask for sympathy and recognition. He declared slavery abolished, removed the stamp tax, and prepared an army to withstand the attack which was now threatening.

THE BATTLE AT THE BRIDGE

Calleja, with his force greatly strengthened and well organized, was indeed upon his way to Guadalajara. Abasolo and Allende, informed of his coming, selected as their place for defense, the Puente de Calderon. There they had assembled 100,000 men with ninety-five pieces of artillery. Calleja's force amounted to only from six thousand to ten thousand men, but they were well disciplined and well equipped. The battle at the bridge was fought bitterly; three times it looked as if the independent forces would win the day; but finally the effect of discipline was evident, and the revolutionists met with a complete defeat; the insurgent army was dispersed, and fled in every direc-

on. This decisive battle—final indeed—took place upon the 17th of January, 1811.

THE END OF HIDALGO'S REVOLUTION

Hidalgo himself fled to Aguas Calientes, where he united with Iriarte. Together they retreated to Zacatecas. Allende, Arias, and others, following, deposed Hidalgo from office, and all of them together started for the United States where it was their purpose to prepare for future operations and return. They almost succeeded in reaching the national border. In the Coahuila desert, however, they were surprised by royalists under Elizardo; the chiefs were captured and taken to Las Norias de Bajan on the 21st of March. Bound and carefully guarded, they were taken to Monclova. Sent to Chihuahua, they were tried and sentenced to be shot. Execution was carried out upon all of them, Hidalgo himself being executed at the end of July. The heads of the four patriots, Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama, and Jimenez, were cut off and placed in iron cages at the four corners of the Castillo de Granaditas, in Guanajuato, the building which Hidalgo had captured at the beginning of the insurrection. The ghastly trophies remained there until the final success of the revolution in 1821, ten years later. In 1823 the bodies of the heroes were unearthed and buried with ceremony in the great cathedral in the City of Mexico.

MEXICAN CRUELTY

Thus ended the first attempt. It seemed as if the revolutionary movement had completely failed. It was a desperate attempt. This first struggle was marred on both sides by hideous cruelty. Cruelty indeed is inherent in the Mexican character. What more could be expected? The Aztec Indian was cruel, the Spaniard was cruel. The mixture of the two bloods could not hope to escape the inheritance of this quality. A prominent writer of the present-day Mexico, Julio Guerrero, speaks of the marked cruelty of his people. He looks upon the quality as the result of degeneration, and speaks of it as the ferocious tendencies of the

Aztecs reappearing atavistically. It is far simpler to consider it as Aztec cruelty continued, reinforced by Spanish cruelty, even more terrible because more refined. It is worth while to quote the Mexican writer, although what he says is very sad: "After ten generations, there has returned to beat within the breasts of some of our patriots the barbaric soul of the worshipers of Huitzilopochtl, of those of the *sacred spring-time* who went to the lugubrious sounds of the *teponastl* to razzias of prisoners in Tlaxcala and Huejotzinco, to open their breasts with obsidian knives, to tear out the heart and eat it in the holocaust of their gods. Three centuries of masses and of barracks have been too little for the complete evolution of character among the people; and if, on the Silesian plain, the Sarmatian of Attila appears, so too in our political struggle there has reappeared, with the indomitable warrior of Ahuitzotl, the sanguinary priest of Huitzilopochtl.

"There is, in fact, nothing in our independent history more lugubrious; even the most illustrious leaders have stained their glory by the needless shedding of blood. The burning of villages and executions *en masse* present themselves at the turning of every page like the funeral refrain of an infernal poem; and, if it be true that there are not lacking some superior souls—as Don Nicolas Bravo, who set at liberty 300 Spanish prisoners, although he knew the Spanish leader had just shot his father—many other leaders of that and later epochs systematically executed all who fell into their hands. The system was converted into a custom and gave such an impress of barbarity to our political struggles as is not to be found even in negro Africa, since their war prisoners are held as captives whose ransom is the motive of war; slavery redeems them from death.

"In Mexico, on the contrary, frequently no account was made of prisoners, but only of the killed and wounded, and the latter were shot or knifed in spite of the severity of their wounds. Hidalgo himself not only ordered that those taken in battle should be killed without fail, but in Guadalajara and Valladolid ordered the seizure of suspects and caused them to be stabbed at

night, in remote places, that they might not, by their cries, cause a disturbance. In this way 600 innocent persons perished; and he advised the leader, Hermosillo, to do the same in El Rosario and Cosala. Morelos, after the battles of Chilapa, Izucar, Oaxaca, etc., shot all his prisoners without mercy; and Osorio did the same in the valley of Mexico, Garcia in Bajio and all the other insurgent leaders, though usually in the way of reprisal."

The name of Hidalgo is the most widely known of any name in Mexico. He is always mentioned as the Cura Hidalgo. He seems to have made a deeper impression as a religious leader in his little parish, teaching the people industry, cultivating vineyards, and rearing silk-worms, than as the generalissimo of the liberating forces. His picture is seen upon the walls of schoolrooms and municipal houses in the most remote mountain districts of Indian Mexico.

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TRIQUE INDIAN CHILDREN, CHICAHUASTLA.

STRUGGLE AND VICTORY

THE SECOND PERIOD; MORELOS—CONGRESS ORGANIZED—FATE OF MATAMORAS—ITURBIDE, THE TERRIBLE—THE THIRD PERIOD—MINA—THE FINAL STAGE; GUERRERO—DEFECTION OF ITURBIDE—SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTION

THE first period of the revolution ended in defeat. It is summed up in the name of Hidalgo.

The second period of the struggle is also summed up in a single name. That name too is the name of a village priest—Morelos. While the Hidalgo struggle was a failure, the spark of revolution was not absolutely extinguished. Ignacio Rayon had been left in command at Saltillo with a few troops by Allende. He marched against a Spanish force under Ochoa, which was on its way to attack him, defeated it, and took Zacatecas. He then marched to Zitacuaro, where he formed a *junta,* or governing committee, consisting of three persons. Rayon himself was at the head of this junta, the other two members of which were Jose Maria Liceaga and the priest, Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon.

JOSE MARIA MORELOS.

Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon was born at Valladolid—the city which now bears the name Morelia in his honor—September 30, 1765. His parents were too poor to

give the boy an opportunity of education. He early went to work as an *arriero* or muleteer. At the age of thirty he took to studying, attending the famous Academy of San Nicolas, in Valladolid, of which Hidalgo was rector at the time. He proved a remarkable student and became a priest, holding various charges. Authorized by Hidalgo to do so, he went to Acapulco, after he had joined the insurgent force in 1810. In December, 1811, after the total failure of the Hidalgo-Allende campaigns, Morelos kept on fighting and met with several notable successes. On January 22, 1812, he totally defeated Porier, who had attacked him, and took away his artillery and ammunition. By his successes, the entire stretch of country in the west, extending from Acapulco to Cuauhtla, was cleared of Spanish forces. At Cuauhtla there took place a military event in which Mexico has justly taken pride. Morelos and his forces were besieged there by 600 Spanish soldiers under Calleja. The siege lasted for sixty-two days during which there was vigorous fighting on many occasions. At the end of that time Morelos was forced to evacuate the city with his troops by night. He succeeded in doing so successfully and with the patriot force withdrew southward, making a stand at Tehuacan. Although forced to withdraw, the whole Cuauhtla incident shows Morelos to have been a military man of no mean ability. He attacked the city of Orizaba, and after a desperate battle at close quarters, lasting hours, in the very streets of the city, he gained a victory, seizing six cannons and much ammunition. On his way back to Tehuacan, he was surprised upon the heights of Acultzingo, and his forces thrown into disorder. He succeeded, however, in rallying his soldiers, and regained Tehuacan. From there, late in November, he marched southward and carried the city of Oaxaca by assault.

CONGRESS ORGANIZED

Just as Hidalgo, in the moment of victory, issued orders of retreat, instead of pressing forward, so Morelos, when he might have been expected to make Oaxaca the point from which to con-

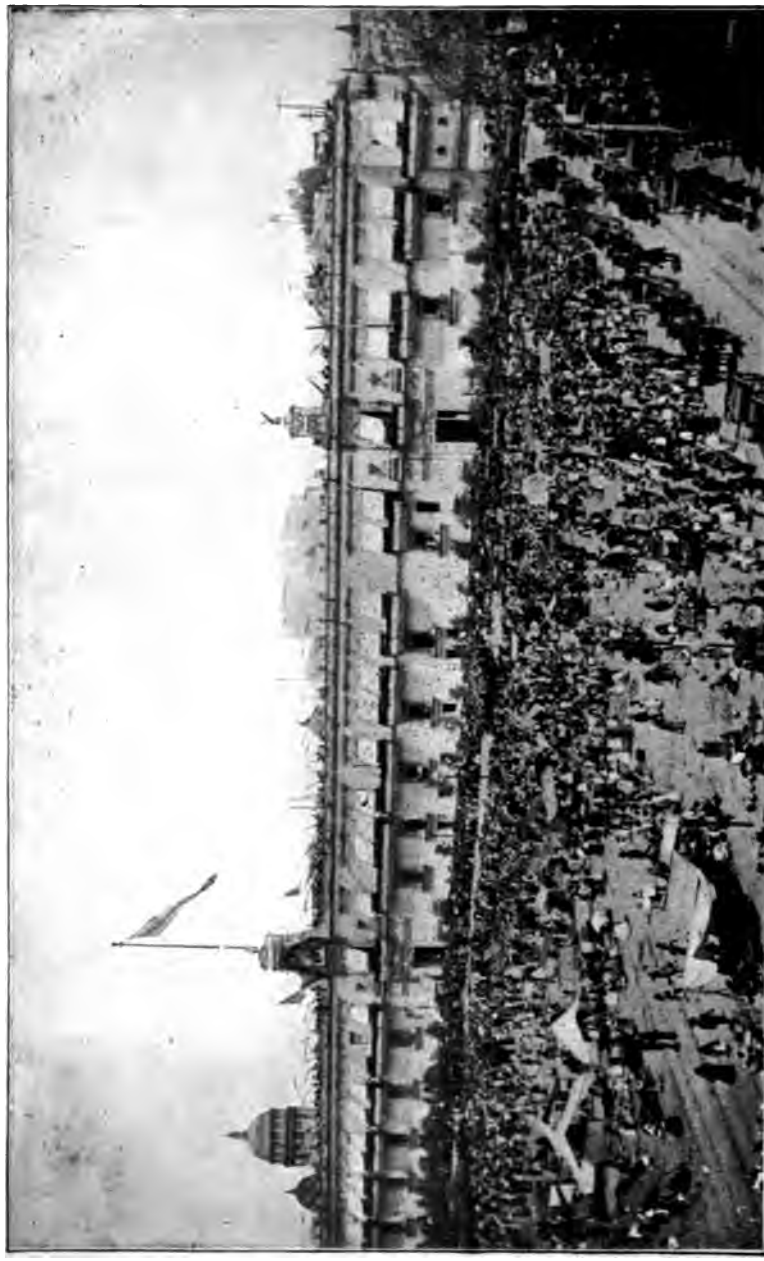
duct an aggressive campaign toward the center, turned aside to gain a trivial advantage. He marched his force across the country to Acapulco which he besieged and captured August 25, 1813. It was not worth the candle. On September 14, he summoned the first national congress at Chilpantzingo. This body included several men of note. Ignacio Rayon, Quintana Roo, and Carlos Bustamante were among them. The congress drew up a declaration of independence and appointed Morelos general of the independent forces. This congress had a difficult and stormy career. At the time it was organized, it was intended that the seat of the new government should be Valladolid. The army was organized and took its way toward the city which was to be the capital. It arrived within sight of Valladolid, indeed, on December 22, 1813; but was terribly defeated by the royalist forces led by Iturbide. After that the congress held meetings wherever possible—at Acapulco, Apatzingan, Uruapan, Tehuacan.

FALL OF MATAMORAS

The success of Morelos had called forth many men whose names as patriots became famous. Among them were, Mariano Matamoras, Vicente Guerrero, Nicolas Bravo, Guadalupe Victoria—and many others. Matamoras, also a priest, after deeds of striking bravery, was captured and shot at Valladolid in August, 1814. Morelos himself, after his brilliant successes and patriotic services, was captured after a frightful defeat on November 5, 1815, and was shot December 21. With his death the second struggle of the revolution came to an end. Upon the royalist side during this period the two great names were Calleja, already famous as the victor in the Hidalgo-Allende contest, and Iturbide.

ITURBIDE, THE TERRIBLE

Augustin de Iturbide was born in the city of Valladolid, September 26, 1783. Son of Spanish parents, but born in Mexico, his natural affiliations should have been creole, and his sympathies with the independent struggle. Such, however, was not the case.



THE NATIONAL PALACE, CITY OF MEXICO.

Before he was sixteen years of age, he was already an official in the local militia. At the end of 1808, almost two years before Hidalgo gave the *grito* of independence, Iturbide had already pronounced against the independent movement and threw his whole strength against it. He was brave, a good soldier, but a man of notable cruelty. He became conspicuous as a leader of the royalist forces during the period of Morelos. It was he who gave the dreadful check to the independent forces when they made their effort to enter Valladolid to make it their capital.

THE THIRD PERIOD

To all appearance, the revolutionary movement was ended. In 1816, on September 19th, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca became viceroy. He adopted a policy of conciliation. He offered amnesty to those who had been revolutionists, and the offer was accepted by many insurgent leaders. One or two irreconcilables, like Guadalupe Victoria, took refuge in the mountains and made no show of continuing the struggle. The whole of what may be called the third period of the revolution was a brilliant dash from the outside. It is summed up in one man's name—Mina.

MINA

Francisco Javier Mina was born in Navarra, Spain, in December, 1789. As a Spanish patriot, he fought against Napoleon. When, finally, the Napoleonic experiment in Spain came to an end, and Ferdinand VII was again in power, Mina could not endure the tyranny of his king, and attempted a revolution. His effort failed, and he himself was forced to flee to England. In London he met with Padre Mier and other Mexican fugitives. With them he fell to plotting and arranged an expedition for Mexican independence. It was a brilliant dash, and for a moment gave promise. An entrance was actually made; sharp battles took place; the fort of Sombrero was captured, and considerable concern was caused to the royalist government. But there was no rallying to the support of the bold leader. His effort failed. Mina was taken prisoner and shot. The capital city was illumi-

nated, and the church bells rang in celebration of the victory. On account of his glorious success, the viceroy was made Count of Venadito.

THE FINAL STAGE—GUERRERO

But the darkest hour is just before the dawn. The fourth period of the revolutionary struggle is summed up in the name of Vicente Guerrero. He was born in Tixtla, about 1783. He was of humble birth. Like Morelos he was at first an *arriero*. Like Morelos, too, he joined the revolutionary movement in its first stage, in 1810. In 1811 he fought under Morelos. The Mexicans say of him that he was a thousand times defeated, a thousand times conqueror; his body was full of wounds; he was indomitable. When many of the leaders accepted the amnesty offered by the viceroy Apodaca he, like Guadalupe Victoria, took refuge in the mountains. On March 6, 1818, a Spanish leader named Aguirre captured the fortress of Jaujilla, where the Mexican *junta* government was then united, and caused it to disperse. In September, Guerrero gained two victories over Spanish forces, and in October, reunited and protected the government *junta* in Jaujilla and restored the national government. In 1819, the insurrection gained new headway and more than twenty victories were gained.

DEFECTION OF ITURBIDE

Straws indicate the direction of the wind. With the turning tide, Iturbide, the great Iturbide, the terrible Iturbide, saw the trend of destiny, and determined to throw in his lot with the insurgent forces. This was in 1820. A liberal constitution had been proclaimed in Spain, and with its proclamation the idea of actually separating Mexico from the mother-country became quite popular. Iturbide was taken with the notion; he begged the viceroy to place him in command of the forces which, in the south, were to fight against Guerrero. He set forth from Mexico in November; making his headquarters in Teloloapan, he entered into negotiations with Guerrero, which led to an interview

between the two leaders on January 10, 1821. As the result of the conference, Guerrero yielded the entire command to Iturbide. A plan of independence was proclaimed in the city of Iguala, on February 24, 1821. The defection of Iturbide naturally caused a great excitement in the capital city. The viceroy offered him pardon, money, a rise in rank, but in vain. He therefore took steps for immediate defense. Apodaca was, however, no military man; he was not a favorite with the Spanish forces; the garrison revolted, removed Apodaca from the position of viceroy, and appointed Francisco Novella to the position. This he held only until the arrival of Juan O'Donoju, who, sent from Spain, was the last of the long list of more than sixty viceroys. It was too late, however, for any man to stay the tide. The revolutionary forces everywhere made advances. A meeting between the new viceroy and Iturbide took place at Cordoba. At this meeting Mexico was declared sovereign and independent; Ferdinand VII was invited to govern the new country; meantime, a government commission was appointed, of which O'Donoju himself was a member.

SUCCESS OF THE REVOLUTION

Iturbide and the independent forces approached the capital city. After some conferences and negotiations, the independent army, known as *The Army of the Three Guarantees,* entered Mexico. The three guarantees of this title were religion, union, and independence. The national flag symbolizes these three guarantees in its three colors—red, white and green. The army made a triumphal entry to the city on September 27, 1821, and the revolution, inaugurated by the village priest eleven years before, had gain its end. It was a long drawn struggle. Its four periods are embodied in the names of four heroes. There were periods of victory separated by periods of doubt and despair. Why was so long a struggle necessary? It was due to the fact that there was no unity of blood and sentiment. There was no national feeling. It was the struggle of localities, with local leaders against a force that was unified and single.

ZAFOTEC TOWN—SANTIAGO, OUEXA, OAXACA

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PATRIOT AND TRAITOR

THE REAL CONDITIONS—ITURBIDE FOR INDEPENDENCE—THE THREE GUARANTEES — TREATY OF CORDOBA — TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO MEXICO—ITURBIDE CROWNED EMPEROR—REVOLUTION AGAIN—DEATH OF ITURBIDE.

BUT it would be a great mistake to think the victory was an absolute triumph of democratic, or republican, principles. Between the *grito* of Hidalgo and the *trigarante* entry into Mexico eleven years intervened; between the *grito* of Hidalgo and the floating of the *tricolor,* there was a new alignment of forces. In Spain Ferdinand VII was again in power; he was a reactionary, a double-faced, treacherous schemer. His conduct had aroused against him a current of liberal hostility. The people of the mother-country were striving for greater freedom—they were willing to share their liberal views with the distant colony. But this movement in the peninsula was anything but welcome to the Spaniards and the clergy in New Spain. They saw, in continuing Spanish rule of this liberal type, only danger for their personal and class interests. For them, reactionaries as they were, severance from Spain was now desirable. They were not, however, moved by democratic principles; they were still Spanish, conservative, aristocratic, and monarchical. They even dreamed of summoning Ferdinand VII from Spain to Mexico to govern as legitimate ruler over the country. These people had no sympathy whatever with the struggle being waged

AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.
Emperor of Mexico. Patriot and traitor.

by Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria, and Nicolas Bravo. But they were willing to utilize the aid of these leaders in severing the country from Old Spain. It was this coalition of reactionary elements that saw in Iturbide a chance to gain their end. It was they who suggested to him the joining with the independents and forcing a crisis.

ITURBIDE FOR INDEPENDENCE

We have already stated that Iturbide asked the viceroy for troops, with which to quell the growing insurrection in the south. We have seen that, once in the field with his 2,500 well trained soldiers, instead of attacking Guerrero, he held council with him, combined forces, and was given control of the entire army. It may seem surprising that Guerrero, who was in reality a patriot struggling for independence, should have united in a movement the avowed end of which was to set Ferdinand VII upon a throne in Mexico. There is no doubt that it was fairly understood between the leaders that the probability of Ferdinand VII coming to Mexico was remote. It was one of those future contingencies which might be left to take care of itself. The matter of pressing momentary importance was the freeing of the country from control by Spain itself. Whatever influence affected Guerrero, he heartily joined with Iturbide, and we have seen the results of their effort.

THE THREE GUARANTEES

The Three Guarantees were summed up in the words, Religion, Independence, Union. It may be as well to say a word in regard to each of these. The guarantee with reference to *religion* was that the power of the Roman Catholic Church should continue absolute in the republic; other religious forms were not to be tolerated; the liberalizing movements taking place in Spain were to be checked in Mexico. The guarantee of *independence* was merely that New Spain should be separated absolutely from the mother-country; it was not promised that any special form of government should be established, but the plan

seemed to involve the coming of Ferdinand VII and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. By *union* was meant that all citizens of Mexico should have equal civil rights; for the first time Spaniard, creole, *mestizo,* and Indian were to be equal before the law.

TREATY OF CORDOBA

The promulgation of the *Plan of Iguala* was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm; support appeared promptly in all quarters; not only Guerrero, but the old stage-horses of the independence struggle, like Guadalupe Victoria and Nicolas Bravo, together with new heroes, like Santa Anna, promptly gave adhesion and were ready to fight for the Three Guarantees. As a matter of fact, no fighting was necessary. Apodaca was removed from office. When O'Donoju arrived from Spain, he saw at once that it was useless to make a stand for the old conditions, and wisely acquiesced in the condition of things that he found in the country. By the Treaty of Cordoba, arranged between him and the supporters of the Three Guarantees, it was agreed that Mexico should be acknowledged to be independent and sovereign; a constitutional and representative monarchy should be established with a Bourbon king in power; a provisional government should be at once organized to hold power until a definite form should be developed.

TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO MEXICO

It was on the anniversary of his birth, with the completion of thirty-nine years of life, that Iturbide entered the capital city in great state and was publicly hailed amid rejoicing as the "Liberator."

At the moment public opinion was crystallizing, and people in politics were falling into three groups. All of them recognized the *Plan of Iguala* and the Treaty of Cordoba as fundamentals. The first group, known as Bourbonists, held literally to the two documents. This party consisted mainly of the Spaniards. They insisted upon the calling of Ferdinand VII and the actual estab-

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EL BUEN TONO CIGARETTE FACTORY, MEXICO.

lishment of a monarchy. They were the extremists in one direction. On the other side were the republicans. These were those who had been fighting for so long for independence. Among their leaders were the well known names, Guerrero, Bravo, and Guadalupe Victoria. They had been of consequence before, and their aid was needed. Now, however, that the separation had been made, they were ignored and their claims neglected. They of course had hoped for the establishment of a republican form of government, totally independent of Spanish influence. Between the two were the Iturbidists. Knowing full well that there was no probability of Ferdinand's coming from Spain, they looked to Iturbide as the man of the hour. For them, Mexico indeed was independent, but over the new nation they would have an arbitrary leader who should have monarchical power. For this ruler they desired Iturbide.

ITURBIDE CROWNED EMPEROR

The provisional government was used by Iturbide to his advantage. The congress which formed part of it consisted in large part of republican members. With it Iturbide had his troubles. However, on the whole, he so shaped things that, on May 18, 1822, in the military barracks a pronouncement took place in favor of Iturbide as supreme ruler. In connection with this pronouncement, through a manipulated congress, Iturbide was declared "Emperor of Mexico" by a considerable majority of the voting members. As emperor, he assumed the name, or title, of Augustin I, and on the 25th of July, he was anointed and crowned under that title in the cathedral of the city.

REVOLUTION AGAIN

Iturbide was not a man of strength. Handsome in person, wealthy, aristocratic, he was vain, proud, and weak. He was a fair soldier, and had shown some ability as a leader in battle; he was distinctly cruel. As a ruler he failed to develop strong qualities of character. Instead of grappling with important problems, he toyed with the trifles and insignificant externals of

rulership. He loved display, form, ceremony. He was arbitrary and badly bore opposition. He had been but a short time in power, before he dissolved congress, and threw many of the deputies into prison. Never having had the strong qualities of a leader, it is not strange that he soon faced revolt and insurrection. In November outbreaks took place in the northern portions of the country; these were quelled without great difficulty. But in December a more serious uprising took place under the young leader, Santa Anna, who proclaimed a republic, promised protection to the congress which had been dispersed, and vigorously prepared to battle with the imperial forces. It was the signal for a general rising, and Guadalupe Victoria, Guerrero, Bravo, all took the field with forces.

In February, 1823, the Plan of Casa Mata was issued to the nation. It demanded that a new congress, representative in character, should be called, and guaranteed a republican form of government. Coincident with this plan, much disaffection appeared in the imperial army, and defection on a large scale threatened. Iturbide recognized the fact that his cause was seriously weakened. He hurried to release the deputies whom he had thrown into prison, and called congress again to session. It was too late, however. The movement against him was serious. While ambitious, vain, and weak, Iturbide did not care to precipitate a civil war. Accordingly he abdicated on March 20, 1823. Thus ended the first Mexican empire.

DEATH OF ITURBIDE

Iturbide left the country on May 1, 1823. Had he been wise, he would have remained in exile. He decided, however, to return to Mexico, and on July 14, 1824, he arrived with his family at the port of Soto la Marina. General Garza was at that time in command in Tamaulipas. He invited Iturbide to land. The ex-Emperor did so, and was received. Only a few moments later, however, an officer appeared who told him that he should prepare to die within two hours, as he was to be shot. As a matter of fact, congress had decreed several months previously that, if

Iturbide should return to Mexico, he should have no legal protection for his person. He believed, however, that he would be well received, and therefore came back to Mexican soil. The congress of Tamaulipas, in extraordinary session deliberated upon the matter. After a heated discussion between the members of congress and General Garza, it was decided that Iturbide should be executed. He was taken from the house where he was held prisoner, in Padilla, and was shot on the 19th of July, 1824. In his little compendium of Mexican history, Manuel Payno says in connection with this incident—"Thus ended the lieutenant of the Spanish army, the general-in-chief of the army of the Three Guarantees, the regent, and the Emperor of Mexico, Augustin I."

There are many in Mexico who still insist that Iturbide was a great patriot—who emphasize his claim to the title of "Liberator." There are others who speak of him in terms of bitterness as a traitor to his country. He is the type of a large class in Mexican history. Almost every man whose name stands forth conspicuously in their annals presents a mixture of the two qualities. They are at once patriot and traitor. In the whole history of Mexico we find personal politics instead of politics of principles. It is easy for a man of certain qualities to gain a following upon almost any platform; the platform is generally in its presentation one which appeals to patriotic fervor, and which promises advance reforms. But when the leader has his party committed to his cause, he forgets his patriotism, his promises, his protestations of principles; he becomes intoxicated with power. From then on he attempts to carry things with a high hand. Few fail so promptly and so miserably as did "the lieutenant of the Spanish army, the general-in-chief of the army of the Three Guarantees, the regent, and the Emperor of Mexico, Augustin I."

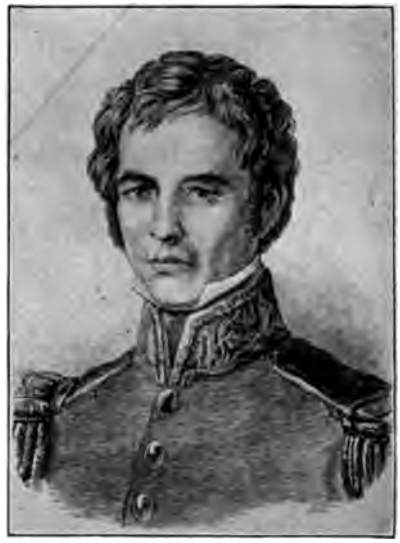
Photograph, Underwood and Underwood

NEPHEWS OF CARRANZA, AVIATORS.

SANTA ANNA

VICTORIA GUADALUPE—PLAN OF MONTAÑO—MASONRY IN MEXICO—SANTA ANNA AGAIN—GUERRERO'S FAILURE—SANTA ANNA IN A CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE—MANGO DE CLAVO—A REAL LIBERAL—CENTRALIZATION POLICY—IN FULL CONTROL—IN THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES—SERENE HIGHNESS—PLAN OF AYOTLA.

THE Mexican constitution was adopted in 1824. It was unluckily patterned quite closely after our own. There are many reasons why it would have been better had it not been so copied. In the first place, the United States was a federation of states which were already separate and distinct, each having been in the habit of conducting its own affairs; each having always had its local government. In the second place, the people of the United States were already accustomed to political action; they had long had problems with which to deal and a reasonable amount of freedom in dealing with them. Again, the population in the colonies was fairly homogeneous; there was no sharp division into castes; this was true even though slavery existed as an institution in the colonies, and it is significant that, when our constitution was adopted, slaves were excluded from citizenship; in a population fairly homogeneous, speaking a single language, and without marked caste divisions, there was possibility of free discussion. Conditions in Mexico were entirely different. As a colony the country had always been ruled from a single center; while the



GUADALUPE VICTORIA.
First President of Mexico.

influence of local and petty interests was present, it was reduced to a minimum by the strongly centralistic nature of control. Again, the people had never had opportunity for political activity; not even the creoles had had any actual voice in government. Again, the four different classes in the community—Spaniards, creoles, *mestizos,* and Indians—were so sharply separated that such a thing as free and general discussion of public questions was impossible. The social condition of Mexico and the character of the political training to which it had so long been subject, were calculated, with the introduction of democratic principles, to lead to dangerous local personal leadership.

VICTORIA GUADALUPE

The first president elected under the new constitution was Victoria Guadalupe. His real name was Felix Fernandez but he adopted the name Victoria Guadalupe from sentiment. He was president because he received the largest number of votes cast. Nicolas Bravo became at the same time vice-president, having received next to the largest number of votes. In the very nature of things, this was a bad arrangement, as the two persons thus elected would generally represent opposite factions. In this case, Victoria Guadalupe represented the federalist sentiment which aimed to emphasize the sovereignty and independence of the states, while Nicolas Bravo represented the centralistic idea. Victoria Guadalupe served his full term of four years. The most important incidents during his administration were, the plot of Padre Arenas, the expulsion of the Spaniards, the Plan of Montaño, and the strife between the different branches of free masonry. Masonry was introduced into Mexico in 1820 under the form of Scottish rites. The Spaniards and aristocratic creoles were most addicted to it. They represented the conservative and reactionary elements of the population. The plot of Padre Arenas aimed to re-establish the authority of the Spanish king in Mexico. The plot was betrayed by one to whom the instigator made it known, with the result that the padre and a number of his co-conspirators were sen-

tenced to be executed. It was commonly claimed that this plot was instigated by the masons of Scottish rites. To offset the influence of this reactionary party, the republican leaders also became masons, but masons of the Yorkist rites. For the introduction of this phase of masonry, Joel R. Poinsett, the first American minister to Mexico, was largely responsible. Poinsett, in fact, took a greater part in the politics of Mexico than a diplomatic representative would be expected to take.

PLAN OF MONTAÑO

The plan of Montaño was launched against the government of Victoria Guadalupe at the end of 1827. It demanded the resignation of the minister of war, the expulsion of the Spaniards, the expulsion of Poinsett, and the extinction of masonry. Nicolas Bravo, Vice-President of the Republic, was implicated in this conspiracy, a fact not strange when we remember the law regarding the election of president and vice-president.

MASONRY IN MEXICO

The strife between the two wings of the Free Masons came to further strength with the suppression of this attempt at outbreak. In September, 1828, the new election took place, and the candidates were the hero Guerrero for the Yorkinos and Pedraza for the Scottish party. The Yorkinos were pronounced liberals, federalists; the Scottish party were the conservatives, Spaniards and others. Pedraza was the Minister of War under Victoria Guadalupe, whose resignation had been demanded by the insurrectionists. As the result of the election, Pedraza was elected. The partisans of Guerrero were unwilling, however, to recognize him, and made appeal to arms. For thirty days war was carried on openly in the capital city.

We have said so much simply to show the beginning of the republic and the alignment of forces at the moment. It is not our intention to present an outline of Mexican history in detail. But at this point, with the appeal of the Yorkinos to arms in order to unseat the man constitutionally elected to office, a man

emerges whose life story we must tell. No name is better known in connection with Mexican history than his. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was a remarkable man in many ways. He first

PERPETUAL ERUPTION.

came into prominence in 1822, when, by the plan of Casa Mata, he united with Bravo and Guerrero in a truly patriotic and independent movement against Iturbide.

SANTA ANNA AGAIN

He now appears again. On November 11, 1828, he pronounced at Perote, seizing the famous castle—or prison—of Perote. He declared himself in favor of Guerrero as president, and demanded the destitution of Pedraza. The president, Victoria Guadalupe, who had not yet completed his term of office, declared Santa Anna guilty of treason and sent a force against him. He was besieged, escaped, pursued, defended himself with bravery, but was at last captured. But while a battle in the field was being conducted against him, changes were taking place in the capital city favorable to him. When, finally, he had been captured, Pedraza's cause had failed. Santa Anna, called to Mexico, was placed at the head of the army. On January 12, 1829, Congress declared the election of Pedraza null, and seated Guerrero in the presidential chair. With him, Anastasio Bustamante, a man of strong centralistic tendencies, was installed as vice-president. As was natural, quarrels arose between the two.

GUERRERO'S FAILURE

At this time there took place a Spanish invasion, with the idea of restoring the old control. In the crisis, as perhaps was necessary, Guerrero assumed dictatorial powers. The vice-president, Bustamante, had been sent with forces to repel the invaders. After the actual danger from the foreigners was past, Guerrero still clung to the dictatorial powers which he had assumed. This gave Bustamante the chance to pronounce against him, which he did with his forces at Jalapa. The Plan of Jalapa was launched by Santa Anna. Guerrero at once left the City of Mexico with troops to subdue the insurrection. No sooner was he gone, than the presidency was seized by another. The old hero lost out everywhere. Unable to subdue the insurrection, unable to regain his presidential chair, he was declared by congress to be "morally incapacitated." Bustamante came to power. Guerrero had friends, however, and the principles for which he stood were by no means dead. The country was

soon aflame with revolution. Guerrero himself fled to the south where he and his friends successfully withstood the attacks of the government troops sent against them. The government, becoming convinced that it could not conquer Guerrero, appealed to stratagem and treason. A Genoese navigator named Picaluga, captain of the brigantine called the *Colombo*, was hired to carry out the plot. He anchored his vessel in the Bay of Acapulco and invited Guerrero to dinner on board; when they had eaten, the Genoese informed Guerrero that he was a prisoner, and sailed to Huatulco. There he was given up to his enemies, tried, and condemned to death. He was shot in Cuilapa, February 15, 1831.

It may well be asked whether the death of the old patriot does not contradict the rather frequent boast of the Mexicans that they have never assassinated presidents. Two answers of course would be given to the question: at the time when he was put to death, Guerrero was not the actual president of the republic. Again, while the trial was no doubt a farce, it can be said that he was tried and found guilty of treason against the constituted government. In him, however, one of the most stalwart defenders of truly democratic principles passed from the scene of action.

SANTA ANNA IN A CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE

In January, 1832, Santa Anna again pronounced in Vera Cruz. This time his cry was "Restoration of the Constitution and the Constitutional Laws." Notwithstanding the fact that he had always fought against their principles, the federalists flocked to his standard and aided in his revolution. Bustamante in person took the field. He was defeated, and resigned in favor of Manuel Gomez Pedraza. Santa Anna, in support of Pedraza, asserted the fact of his constitutional election in 1828. It will be remembered that he himself had been the cause of the annulling of that election. In other words, Santa Anna had, in turn, made and destroyed Guerrero, Bustamante, and Pedraza. He had no absolute principles firmly held. His ambitions were

purely selfish; his politics entirely personal; and his followers did as he did.

It will be noticed, however, that the period for which Pedraza had been elected was now almost ended. Only three months, in fact, remained. When a new election was held, the candidates were both well known old revolutionary leaders, though one stood for conservative, the other for liberal principles. By the election General Bravo became president, on the liberal ticket; his opponent, mortified, committed suicide. Congress, which was centralistic at the moment, set aside the election and named Santa Anna as president and Valentin Gomez Farias vice-president. As usual, the two officials represented completely opposite tendencies. Gomez Farias was a man of advanced ideas. He had demonstrated his ability in politics and government in the State of Zacatecas of which he had been governor.

MANGO DE CLAVO

Santa Anna now developed a peculiar characteristic which marked the whole remaining period of his life. There is no question that he had schemed and worked for the presidential office. But hardly had he gained the position when he abandoned his public duties and retired to his estate, Mango de Clavo, between Jalapa and Vera Cruz, leaving the vice-president, Gomez Farias, in charge. Two months later, General Duran pronounced, offering the Plan de San Augustin. This plan was the most reactionary that could be imagined. It demanded the strengthening the church and army, and named Santa Anna as the supreme dictator of Mexico. As president of the republic, Santa Anna hastened from his retirement to the capital city, appointed Arista to the second place in the army, and went with him and it against Duran. On the way Arista seized the person of Santa Anna and proclaimed him dictator. All of this of course was stage play. The vice-president, Gomez Farias, rallied the Federals and demanded that the president should perform his full duty under the constitution. Santa Anna escaped, naturally without difficulty, from the hands of his cap-

tor, Arista, and came back to Mexico, apparently intending to fulfill his duty. Arrived there, he resumed control, pardoned Arista, and banished Duran. He had failed in his scheme of securing dictatorial power. He again retired to his hacienda.

A REAL LIBERAL

Gomez Farias, left in charge of affairs, attempted to put his own views into operation. These were definitely progressive. They aimed toward the abolition of class privileges and the improvement of the condition of the common people. They were far in advance of anything ever seriously attempted in Mexico. As was to be expected, they met with strong opposition. Meantime, in his retreat at Mango de Clavo, Santa Anna was again plotting. The result was the Plan de Cuernavaca. It was a definite reaction against the liberal politics of Gomez Farias, with the distinct aim of conferring dictatorial powers upon himself. Returning to office in 1834, he dissolved congress, assembled a new one, annulled the reforms undertaken by the vice-president, deposed him from office, and in reality exercised unlimited power. Encouraged by the new conditions, entirely favorable to themselves, the clergy and military now loudly demanded a total change of governmental form. This demand was met in May, 1834, by the Plan of Toluca, which abolished the Federal constitution with the recognition of sovereign and independent states, and replaced it by a new constitution known commonly under the title of The Seven Laws (*Las Siete Leyes*).

A CENTRALIZATION POLICY

This was indeed revolutionary. Naturally the states opposed it. Several of them were outspoken in opposition, but only one —Texas—was able to give force to its opposition. It declared itself independent, and invited other states to join it in seceding from the Mexican Republic in case the independence of the states was abrogated. In February, 1836, Santa Anna, with eight thousand soldiers, hastened to suppress this threatened

outbreak. A battle took place at San Antonio which resulted in a victory for Santa Anna who massacred the entire garrison of the Alamo. Having gained this victory, with his eight thousand troops the hero was withdrawing, when he met General Houston with less than a thousand soldiers in his force. The battle of San Jacinto ensued; the Texans gained a notable victory and took the entire Mexican army prisoners. By the treaty arranged with General Houston, the Mexican army was withdrawn, the independence of Texas acknowledged, and Santa Anna was to return to his own country by way of the United States. He did so, taking ten months upon the way. Arrived in Mexico, he denounced the treaty which he said he had signed under duress, and then went into retirement again.

This time he remained for two years. In 1838 Mexia led a force against the government, aiming to restore independent principles. At the moment, Bustamante was again in power. He recalled Santa Anna from his retirement and placed him in charge of the government forces. A victory was gained over Mexia who was executed. Soon afterwards, there was an interference by the French government in the effort to collect a claim against Mexico. In defending his country against this foreign attack, Santa Anna lost a leg. It was a fortune for him. From that time onward, it was a great card to play in case of difficulty—to have lost a member in defense of his nation was proof positive of patriotic loyalty. Conditions in the republic, however, continued in a turmoil. There were pronouncements and battles. Among these was a battle between the Ciudadela and the Palace, which was practically repeated in the spectacular events of 1913 fresh in our memory. As a result of all the difficulties, Bustamante again withdrew to Europe. The Plan of Tacubaya was launched, a *junta* of notables was named by the head of the army—who of course was Santa Anna—which, in turn, named him as president. A new constitution, even more centralizing in its character than that of 1836, was adopted in June, 1843. The new Congress, installed in accordance with it, on January 1, 1844, confirmed Santa Anna in the presidency.

IN FULL CONTROL

He had now practically achieved his aim, and was in full charge. Noll says: "The state he observed as President was altogether inconsistent with the republican institutions he promised to observe. He rode abroad from the National Palace in a coach richly decked with crimson velvet and gold, drawn by four white horses, accompanied by a troop of gaily caparisoned hussars and with six mounted *aides-de-camp* at the sides. He wore the rich gold-embroidered dress of a General of Division. A number of decorations were about his neck, and medal of great brilliancy upon his breast." But a storm was rising, and he retired to Mango de Clava.

The rising against him was actually serious. The leaders of the insurrection demanded that the constitution should be recognized. Uprisings took place everywhere throughout the country. Santa Anna hastened to the capital city and tried to stay the movement. He was unquestionably the constitutional president of the republic, but by his own constitution he could not be in charge of troops. He took troops, however, and went into the field. The minister of war, directed by congress, ordered him to give up the command of military forces. Santa Anna paid no attention to the demand, with the result that congress, in December, declared that it no longer recognized his authority as president, nullified his acts, and called upon the forces under his command to submit at once to the authority of the government. After some show of resistance, Santa Anna finally retreated to Jalapa. His troops surrendered. He himself was captured and confined in the prison of Perote. He was impeached by congress for high treason "in attempt to subvert the constitution and to elevate himself to the supreme authority of Mexico as Emperor; for violating the constitution by an arbitrary exercise of former; for malfeasance not conferred upon him in office in applying funds of the government to his own use; and in sending out of the country on his individual account several millions of public money; for violating the usages of

war at Puebla; for robbing the mint at Guanajuato; for pillaging cities and appropriating public and private property to his own use; and for refusing to deliver up the command of the army, when ordered by the gvernment to do so."

In the nature of things, the political adventurer should have been executed. In May, however, a general amnesty was offered to all who had been opposing the government, but it was stipulated that Santa Anna must leave the country of Mexico forever; the city went wild with delight at his final overthrow. He who had been in supreme control left his native land humiliated and disgraced, breathing out threats and rage.

IN THE WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

But not long after this, there came on the war with the United States. In that hour of crisis Santa Anna was recalled to Mexico to take charge of the government forces. There was no question that in that period he again betrayed his country. The details belong in another chapter. He gained no great victories during the progress of that struggle, and at its close he again left the country.

SERENE HIGHNESS

Several years of confusion ensued in the national history. In 1853 General Lombardini secured the election of Santa Anna again to office by the states. On April 1, 1853, the political adventurer returned to Mexico in glory. His journey, as Noll says, "was in the nature of a triumphal procession from the coast to the capital. Banners and bells, cannons and triumphal arches and flowers, were all called into requisition in welcoming the man who had repeatedly threatened Mexico's destruction, and who had never yet answered the charges of robbery and treason brought against him; who had been engaged in secret negotiations with the United States Government, through which the issue of the war between that nation and Mexico had been disastrous to the latter country; who had intrigued with European powers for the institution of monarchy in his native land;

and whom the Mexican people had more than once declared worthy of death, and had not suffered to remain in their land." With his return, Mexico achieved the extreme of centralization. Santa Anna assumed the title of "Serene Highness." On December 11, he was made perpetual dictator. He revived the Order of Guadalupe, with its decoration, first established by Iturbide. He lived, as before, in almost royal splendor. He negotiated with the United States a sale of land known by us as the Gadsden Purchase, for ten million dollars, the greater part of which unquestionably went into his own pockets.

PLAN OF AYOTLA

It would seem as if ideals of liberty had totally disappeared from Mexico. The reactionary forces were in complete control. But in the south there was an Indian of pure blood, named Juan Alvarez. He had served under the patriot Morelos and had imbibed his ideals. He had been Governor of Guerrero and looked with hostility upon the abrogation of the rights of states. He was an insurrectionist, and in connection with his insurrection the Plan of Ayotla was launched. It gained the aid of other leaders, among them Ignacio Comonfort. These leaders represented a cause which was far from dead. They won victories. Santa Anna, perpetual dictator, in vain tried to stay the movement. He was forced to leave the city on August 9, 1855. On his way to the coast, he issued his last manifesto to the Mexican people. It was like so many others of his grand, eloquent, and bombastic utterances. It was the last time that he seriously figured in Mexican politics.

Thus ended the real public career of this much vaunted man. He represented a great class of Mexican politicians who have cursed the country from 1810 up to the present hour. Without principles himself, he espoused any principles which for the moment, seemed to promise him advancement and personal power. Mexico's greatest misfortune is that such leaders may invariably find followers.

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

SECESSION OF TEXAS—ANNEXATION BY THE UNITED STATES—WAR BEGUN BY THE UNITED STATES—COURSE OF THE WAR—SANTA ANNA'S PART—NATURE OF THE WAR—RESULTS OF THE WAR.

IN 1821, the American colonization of the State of Texas in the Mexican Republic began; in 1828, Stephen Austin and three hundred families settled within its area. It was no doubt largely due to the infiltration of a new stock into Texas that that state felt more keenly than some others the abrogation of the rights of states by the centralist constitution of 1834. At that time Texas remonstrated; it was outraged over aggressions upon the rights of states; it was angered that the Seven Laws had been adopted without its consent; its representatives, sent to Mexico to express its sentiment, were unheard and thrown into prison.

SECESSION OF TEXAS

In 1836, then, Texas issued a manifesto in which it declared itself independent unless its rights, guaranteed by the constitution of 1824, should be restored. It invited other states to rise in defense of the doctrine of state rights.

The result of the secession of Texas was war. Santa Anna, with eight thousand soldiers, proceeded to the seat of difficulty, won the battle of San Antonio and stained his hands with the blood of the garrison of the Alamo. At San Jacinto he was defeated by General Houston, and forced to sign the treaty whereby the Mexican force was withdrawn from Texas, independence was recognized, and the return of Santa Anna was to be by way of the United States. As we have already stated, it was three years before the fallen leader really returned to Mexico. He repudiated the treaty which he had signed, and planned an expedition to recapture the seceded state, then the independent Texas Republic. His plans necessitated an expenditure beyond the ability of the nation at the time. They

never materialized, and the State of Texas continued to exercise independence for a period of something like nine years.

ANNEXATION BY THE UNITED STATES

At the end of that time, Texas asked admission to the United States. Its annexation was opposed by a considerable party in our own country—naturally it was opposed by almost every one in Mexico. With annexation all possibility of its recapture disappeared. More than that, a vexing question which had been in dispute between Mexico and Texas was transferred to a new and stronger power. This question concerned the boundary between Mexico and Texas. It was claimed by Mexico that the Rio Nueces was that boundary; Texas contended that the Rio Grande must be the limit. By the contention of Texas, Mexico would lose a considerable strip of territory. As long as Mexico had only Texas to deal with, she had some reason to hope for a satisfactory conclusion of this disputed boundary question. With annexation all such hope disappeared. Feeling over the matter of annexation was so high that Almonte, minister from Mexico at Washington, demanded his passports. President Herrera declared that annexation was a breach of international laws, and called upon the Mexican people to rally to the national defense. Troops were at once dispatched toward the north in expectation that war would ensue.

The man in charge of the troops was General Paredes. When well upon his way, he decided to pronounce against the Herrera government. He returned to Mexico with his troops. He was declared President by a *junta* which had assumed power on the fall of President Herrera. Paredes was a man of marked monarchic tendencies.

WAR BEGUN BY THE UNITED STATES

Meantime, war was indeed a reality. It was precipitated by the Americans. In March, 1846, Gen. Zachary Taylor advanced toward the Mexican border. He gained two battles, Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, within the area that was in dispute

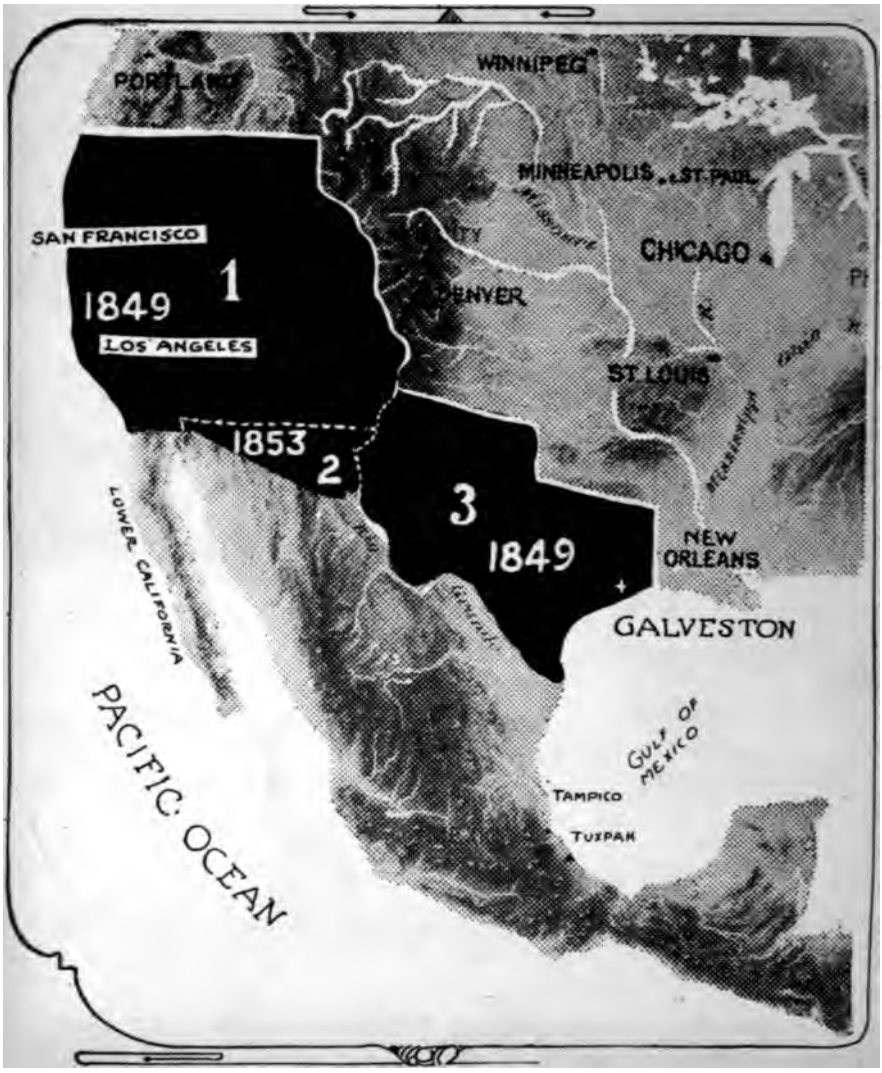
between Mexico and Texas. This perhaps was not, technically speaking, a war against Mexico. But Zachary Taylor did not pause within the disputed territory. He crossed the Rio Grande, thus leading an army of invasion into Mexico, and gained victories at Matamoras and Monterey.

COURSE OF THE WAR

The war with Mexico was easy. It was an almost undisputed march of the American troops. The chief reason for its being thus easy was the existence of bitter internal feuds between the Mexicans. After having gained power, Paredes took the field with forces, leaving Bravo behind in charge of the government. There was soon a pronouncement in the ciudadela. As the result, Mariana Salas was made president. He called Santa Anna to take charge of forces. Santa Anna landed at Vera Cruz the sixteenth day of August, 1846, and sent Almonte up to the capital city to feel the popular sentiment, having some fear, lest he might be entrapped. While awaiting a report, he issued one of his notable manifestoes, in which he excused all his past bad conduct and inconsistency, and attacked every one who had opposed him. Salas, as president, issued an edict agreeing in detail with the manifesto of Santa Anna, and the leader made his way to Mexico where he was received with patriotic joy. Congress proceeded to elect him President, with Gomez Farias as Vice-President. Santa Anna himself advanced to San Luis Potosi with a small army.

SANTA ANNA'S PART

Gomez Farias, left in charge at Mexico, faced serious difficulties. He tried to raise a forced loan from the Church, but met with resistance. There was at this time a considerable body of conservatives who were known as "Polkos" because they openly favored the American attack upon Mexico's independence. Finally, Gomez Farias succeeded in forcing his loan act through congress. Just at this moment Santa Anna, defeated in the battle of Buena Vista, returned to Mexico. He unseated Gomez



MEXICO'S LAND LOSSES TO THE UNITED STATES:
1 AND 3 BY THE WAR; 2 BY THE GODSLEN PURCHASE

Farias, annulled his acts, and encouraged the appointment of Anaya as acting President.

Again in charge of forces, he was again defeated—this time at Cerro Gordo. He returned to Mexico. The capital city was occupied by Gen. Winfield Scott in charge of the American forces. Santa Anna turned the army over to General Lombardini and left the country. During his control of forces, he gained no serious battles. It is quite certain that he acted in coalition with the Americans. He could never have landed in Vera Cruz without an understanding with the enemy. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the engagements of the war. President Herrera, in charge of matters at the beginning of difficulties, with the turn of fortune, was again in power at the end of the unfortunate war. It was almost immediately after his restoration to power that the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed, June 6, 1848.

NATURE OF THE WAR

It was really a war without honor for the United States. It was precipitated by us—forced on a country which, in a certain sense, we had assisted in robbing. It was in large part a movement of our slave interests. In it we took advantage of the distracted condition of our neighboring republic. During the little more than two years that it lasted, there were thirteen changes in the presidential office in Mexico. At one time four different factions were struggling for power. From a military point of view, the war was no achievement. It was practically a walk-over—not that the Mexicans were incapable of bravery, for there were battles where splendid heroism was shown on their part, such as Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. An incident quoted by Manuel Payno is in point. After the battle of Churubusco, where the Mexicans in small numbers in an ancient convent building held a considerable American force (five or six thousand men) at bay for a long time, General Twiggs entered the convent building; he inquired from the Mexican in charge, General Anaya, where the ammunition was. The reply

was, "If there had been ammunition, you would not be here." Add to all these difficulties against which the Mexicans were struggling, the unquestionable treachery of Santa Anna, and it will be seen how little credit to us the war brought.

RESULTS OF THE WAR

By the war Mexico lost the whole of California, Arizona, and New Mexico—522,955,000 square miles of territory.

Here again we have emphatically illustrated the lack of unity among the Mexicans. There was no national feeling. In the face of a common enemy, the petty cliques struggled with one another for power. Division, separation, and personal politics were at the bottom of their troubles.

THE LITTLE INDIAN

THE POLICIES OF GOMEZ FARIAS—PROGRESSIVE LAWS—NEW CONSTITUTION—THE OPPOSITION—BENITO JUAREZ—FLIGHT OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT—EVENTS AT VERA CRUZ—AGAIN IN CONTROL EUROPEAN INTERVENTION—MAXIMILIAN'S EMPIRE—CHARACTER OF JUAREZ—A SPECTACULAR INCIDENT—AFTER THE EMPIRE.

EVEN in the periods of greatest centralization, a spirit of real democracy remained. While Santa Anna was plotting centralism, Valentin Gomez Farias was practicing progressive policies.

THE POLICIES OF GOMEZ FARIAS

It is worth while to pause a moment to see exactly what he desired to accomplish. The year is 1834. Noll sums up his principles as follows: "(1) The absolute liberty of the press; (2) the abolishment of special class privileges, or *fueros,* as they were called, whereby the clergy and the army gained great advantages over the masses of the people; (3) the separation of church and state, including the suppression of monastic institutions, and more particularly the abrogation of the right of ecclesiastics to interfere in secular affairs; (4) the restoration and maintenance of the national credit by a readjustment of the public debt; (5) the improvement of the moral condition of the popular classes, more particularly instruction in colleges by lay officers in place of, or at least in addition to, the priests who had heretofore claimed the whole right to teach, and whose curriculum was far from broad or edifying; (6) the abolition of punishment for political offenses; (7) laws encouraging emigration and colonization, for the better protection of territory, and to guarantee the integrity of the national territory." In fact, within this program, practically every important liberal advance achieved in Mexico since that time is involved. The development of these progressive policies demanded almost forty years, and in the development three names stand forth

IGNACIO COMONFORT.

BENITO JUAREZ.

conspicuously—Valentin Gomez Farias, Ignacio Comonfort, Benito Juarez.

PROGRESSIVE LAWS

We have already mentioned the Plan of Ayotla. It succeeded. Juan Alvarez was named provisional president by a *junta* of three members. When he entered Mexico, he was escorted by a bodyguard of Indians. In the cabinet which he organized, Comonfort held the portfolio of war, Juarez that of justice. The liberal tendencies of the new government were promptly shown by the suggestion of the *Ley Juarez.* This law, named from its author, suppressed all special courts, thus removing civil cases from the jurisdiction of military and ecclesiastical tribunals. It was a notable advance. The Indian president, Juan Alvarez, soon resigned the position in favor of Comonfort, who, for a time, pursued an equally liberal policy. On June 25, 1856, congress passed a law known as the *Ley Lerdo.* It was the joint production of Juarez, Ocampo, and Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, who was secretary of the treasury under the new president. The law was an exceedingly bold one. It removed from all corporations, civil and ecclesiastical, the right to own lands beyond what was necessary for the transaction of their legitimate business. It gave to all persons who had leased property from the Church the right to purchase the same at a price to be assessed by commissioners appointed for the purpose. It permitted the denunciation of improved untenanted property of the church by any citizen. It provided for the sale of all the unimproved land of the Church at an assessed valuation. The proceeds from all these transactions were to go to the Church. The land, however, would thus be freed from ecclesiastical control and no longer exempt from taxation. It was to be expected that the clerical leaders would make vigorous efforts to prevent the passage and application of this law. The reactionary movement in Puebla, led by the clericals, was particularly virulent. It was suppressed, and sufficient Church property was taken over by the government to pay the expenses of

the suppression and an indemnity to the government for all the damage caused. In September, 1856, the president ordered the seizure of the great property of the San Francisco Order—one of the most valuable in Mexico. It was taken over on account of the hostility of the order to the new laws.

At first the act involved the suppression of the order itself; this suppression, however, was rescinded, but the confiscation continued and a street, now known as Independencia, was cut through the property. The constitution was finally passed and sent to the president for signature.

NEW CONSTITUTION

It was indeed a liberal constitution. Recognizing the rights of a man as fundamental, it declared that the people, and the people only, had a right to alter forms of government. The sovereignty of the states was asserted, and the national government was a voluntary federation of such. Corporations might hold property only to the extent necessary to the accomplishment of the immediate and direct object of their institution. Slavery was abolished, education was to be free, and every person was at liberty to follow such occupation as best suited him. Freedom of speech and of the press was guaranteed. The right of petition, of peaceful assembly, and of carrying arms was granted. Special tribunals—religious and military—were abolished, and only the properly constituted national courts permitted. Religious toleration was established. This constitution was, in fact, so liberal that the president was hesitant in affixing his signature to it. Liberal as he undoubtedly was, he began to feel the mighty pressure of the conservatives against him and his policies. Finally, however, he signed the constitution, on February 5, 1857.

THE OPPOSITION

The storm of opposition promptly broke. General Zuloaga protested, declaring the constitution null and void. Behind him the clericals and other reactionary and conservative elements

MELCHOR OCAMPO.

ZARAGOZA.

loomed up—conspicuous among them Miguel Miramon, Tomas Mejia, and Antonio Pelagio de Labastida, as leaders whose names came to be famous. Miramon was a military leader, born in Mexico notwithstanding his French name, and had made a reputation in the late war with the United States. He had been conspicuous in the battles of Molino del Rey and Chapultepec. He had been engaged on the side of the conservatives in the disturbances in Puebla, in 1856. He was young and a brave soldier. Tomas Mejia was a full-blood Mexican Indian. He too had made a name in military affairs. As for Labastida, he first came into prominence when Bishop of Michoacan. He was now Archbishop of Mexico and was destined to play an important part in the coming struggles. So pronounced was the opposition and so vigorous its efforts that there was battling on the streets of Mexico and much bloodshed. The president's cabinet resigned. Comonfort appointed Benito Juarez minister of gobernacion in the new cabinet. Notwithstanding the opposition and the threatening condition of affairs, the constitution was put into operation. Immediately afterwards, an election was held in which the opposing candidates were Ignacio Comonfort and Miguel Lerdo de Mejia. Comonfort was elected, and at the same time, Benito Juarez became president of the supreme court, a matter of importance inasmuch as he would become the president of the republic in case of the death or the removal of the elected president. Only ten days later President Comonfort weakened and gave way completely to the clerical party. He set aside the constitution and threw Benito Juarez into prison. Nothing could have been more unwise than this surrender. It soon became evident that the liberal party was as able to express dissatisfaction and to threaten trouble as the conservatives. Distracted, uncertain in his policy, and terrified by the clamor about him, Comonfort again reversed his action—restoring the constitution and setting Juarez free. Naturally Zuloaga pronounced. Comonfort resigned January 21, 1858. By his resignation the capital city was left entirely at the mercy of the reactionaries.

BENITO JUAREZ

The liberal deputies escaped to Queretaro, where they recognized Juarez as constitutional president, installing him in the position January 10, 1858. It is time to make a brief statement regarding this important man. Benito Juarez was born in the Indian town of San Pablo Guelatao, in the State of Oaxaco, on March 21, 1806. He was a full-blood Zapotec. Brought up in his little village, he know only the Zapotec language until the age of twelve years. His sister had already gone to the city of Oaxaca, where she was employed in domestic service. When twelve years old, Benito followed, and in the capital city of the state, found a home and employment with a Franciscan lay-brother; this man was a book-binder, and with him the boy found work, and from him received his elementary education. He entered the Seminary in October, 1821. This was of course a critical time in the history of the republic; the long struggle for independence had ended, and the establishment of the new nation was in progress. The Seminary was an ecclesiastical institution, and it was supposed that the boy would enter the clerical profession. In 1828, however, the Institute of Arts and Sciences was founded in Oaxaca, and Benito Juarez entered that school, where he studied law and from which he graduated in 1832.

Juarez was in politics in 1831, when he held the position of regidor; soon afterwards, he was a member of the state legislature, and when the state took a stand against the centralizing constitution in 1836, he was thrown into jail; later he became a local judge, and then, secretary of the governor; in 1846 he was one of the *junta* of three members in charge of the state government. Through all these years, he was a practicing lawyer, and it is an interesting fact that Porfirio Diaz studied under his instruction. Up to this time, his political life had been confined to state offices. In 1846, he was elected deputy from his state to the national congress. He was Governor of Oaxaca for five years. When Santa Anna came to dictatorial power, in 1853, he was imprisoned—at Puebla, Jalapa, and San Juan de Ulua—

and exiled. During his exile, he went to New Orleans, where he was living in 1855. When the Plan of Ayotla was pronounced, he hurried to Acapulco, going by way of the Gulf and Panama. He united himself to Alvarez and Comonfort.

FLIGHT OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

Juarez set up a constitutional government in Guanajuato. He issued a proclamation as constitutional president. The conservative forces, however, were gaining advantages everywhere. In battles fought at Celaya and Salamanca, the constitutional forces were beaten. Juarez and his government were forced to withdraw to Guadalajara. Here a truly spectacular incident took place. An uprising occurred among the soldiers, and they seized the palace in which were the president and his advisers; all were taken prisoners and were on the point of being immediately executed when, in this moment of supreme danger, the constitutionalist cause was presented in simple terms to the mutinous soldiers, who were gained over, and the lives of the president and his helpers saved. Juarez and his advisers now withdrew to Colima and then to Manzanillo on the Pacific coast. Finally, with his cabinet, he left the country by steamer, going to Panama, Havana, New Orleans, and Vera Cruz. This fact has been much made of by those hostile to the Indian president. It is claimed that, by leaving the national soil, he ceased to have legal status, and lost whatever constitutional rights were his.

EVENTS AT VERA CRUZ

However that may be, on the fourth of May, 1858, he established his government in the city of Vera Cruz, and shortly afterwards was recognized by the United States as being the constitutional ruler of the republic. This recognition was a great advantage for the Indian president. There was still, however, much trouble in store from the conservative forces. In the many battles which were fought, victory was generally with the reactionaries. General Miramon even invested the city of Vera Cruz, but failed to seize it. Against the efforts made in

favor of the constitutional government in the capital city, Miramon and the cruel Leandro Marquez held the power securely. In 1860, Miramon again tried to seize the city of Vera Cruz and to destroy the constitutional government. Negotiations were entered into and foreign influence—both of the United States and European countries—was brought to bear. The negotiations failed, and Miramon bombarded the city. He withdrew, however, without succeeding in capturing it. With his cause at lowest ebb, President Juarez took desperate measures. He issued decrees of a more drastic and far-reaching character than any before promulgated. He declared all church property nationalized and sequestrated; he demanded that marriage be by a civil ceremony, not by a priest; he pronounced religious tolera tion; he secularized the cemeteries. These acts, going far beyond the principles contained in the constitution, could only weaken the power of the Church, and indirectly aid his cause. All of them were included in the Laws of the Reform. With the promulgation of these edicts, new force was given to the constitutionalist cause. A battle at Guanajuato resulted favorably to the liberal forces, and the city was taken. Encouraged by this success, a movement was made upon the capital, which was invested. After a few days' battle, the Juarists gained and were in power. Thus ended what was known as The War of the Reform.

AGAIN IN CONTROL

Fully seated in power, Juarez put his recent decrees into full effect and ordered an election. Its result was to make him constitutional president and Gen. Jesus Gonzales Ortega vice-president. There followed a period of gradual establishment of the liberal power. Difficulties arose, and Juarez found himself in conflict with his congress. His resignation was demanded; when a vote was taken, fifty-one members of congress demanded his withdrawal, while fifty-two sustained him. On account of the pressing need of funds for government purposes, in July, 1861, Juarez announced suspension of payment on foreign debts for two years.

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

This gave ground for foreign interference. England and France broke off relations in October, 1861. Soon after, the Treaty of London was drawn up, an agreement between three nations in regard to Mexico's debts. England, France, and Spain united in a joint effort. It was agreed that forces of the three nations should occupy certain territory along the eastern coast of the republic, and administer the customs-houses in favor of the creditors. No permanent occupancy was to result and when the financial obligations of the country had been met, it was understood that the intervening powers should withdraw. Before this threatened invasion of the national soil, Juarez issued the famous decree of January 25, 1862. It declared that all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty who refused to take up arms in the defense of the country, should be regarded as traitors; it established court martial in place of the ordinary tribunals; it authorized governors and magistrates to dispose of the persons or properties of disloyal persons within their jurisdiction; it declared armed invasion of the country by Mexicans or foreigners without previous declaration of war a crime against the independence of Mexico, punishable by death; it declared any invitation offered by Mexico or foreign residents of Mexico for such invasion a similar crime. Such is the summing up of this decree as given by Noll. The details of this intervention appear elsewhere.

MAXIMILIAN'S EMPIRE

Here, where we are only sketching the life of the little Indian, it is enough to say that, with French intervention, the liberal forces scattered. Some, with the Government retreated northward; others, under Porfirio Diaz, operated in the south. The government was set up at first at San Luis Potosi, then retreated to Saltillo, Monterey, Chihuahua, Paso del Norte. At one time Juarez had but twenty-two faithful adherents about him. Conspicuous among them, both for the influence which he had with

the constitutional president, and for his unquestioned ability was Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. He was brother of the Miguel Lerdo de Tejada who figured conspicuously in the cabinet of Comonfort. Of course this northward flight of the president and his advisers corresponded step by step with the success of the French invasion, and the establishment and development of the empire under Maximilian. When Juarez was at El Paso del Norte, Maximilian's power was at its height. In comparison with the splendor of the imperial capital, El Paso del Norte was mean indeed. In 1865 the actual period of Juarez' term of office came to an end. It would seem as if no one could wish for the empty title of President of Mexico. General Ortega, however, who had been useful in the liberal contest, laid claim to the presidency on account of the fact that he had been elected president of the supreme court. He announced himself, therefore, constitutional president. President Juarez, however, refused to recognize him, declaring that events themselves forced him to continue in power until a legal election might be held.

CHARACTER OF JUAREZ

Noll, whose treatment of this period we have closely followed, says of Juarez that he was "simple in his tastes, not personally ambitious, depreciated pomp or display, gave his life to the effort to set law above force in Mexico, and served his country in honorable poverty in the Chief Magistracy for thirteen years, the greater part of the time an exile from his capital." The empire fell; Juarez came back from the north. When again the capital city was occupied by constitutional forces, elections were ordered. They took place in August, 1867, and three candidates appeared for the presidency—Benito Juarez, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, and Porfirio Diaz. Juarez was elected.

A SPECTACULAR INCIDENT

But at this critical moment the irrepressible and spectacular Santa Anna reappeared for a moment on the scene. It was the month of June. We quote the incident from William But-

ler: "The surrender of Vera Cruz to the republican army under General Benavides had already been arranged for, and in a few days more the Mexican flag would have floated unchallenged over the capital.

"Warships of England, France, Austria, and the United States were at anchor in the harbor, waiting to witness the close of the requisite negotiations when, unexpectedly, on the third of June, the mail steamer, *Virginia,* hove in sight, having on board Gen. Santa Anna, with a staff of five officers, a supply of ammunition of war, and a stock of proclamations for his purpose. Utter consternation was the result. Knowing the man, they could anticipate nothing from his advent at such an hour but confusion and destruction. The imperialist General Gomez was in command of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, which dominates the city and harbor. He had formerly been a friend and adherent of Santa Anna; he promptly invited him to land and remain there till arrangements could be made for a grand reception in the city. Within an hour after, the band in the fort was playing marches of welcome and the garrison shouting, "Viva el General Santa Anna!" The foreign soldiers on the shore responded, and all saw that he had but to land, and a hostile force which he so well knew how to attract and increase, would be around him, and all other authority at an end. Fortunately, before he landed, he invited a conference of officials on board the *Virginia,* and there announced his purpose, 'To set up a republic in place of the tottering empire, and with the assurance that he came under American protection, after interviews with President Johnson and Mr. Seward, and with their solicitation, Maximilian having offered to deliver up the Government of the country to him.' These outrageous falsehoods opened the eyes of all present. He had overreached himself in asserting that the American Government sustained him. A council of war was called that night at the city hall by the national and military officers, with the consuls stationed at Vera Cruz. The conclusion was practically unanimous, that Santa Anna should not be allowed to land and attempt to spoil all that had been accom-

plished. Captain Roe, of the United States war steamer, *Tacony,* was requested by the entire company to take charge of the matter and see that he was sent off again in the ship that brought him. This he did in thorough style next morning, to Santa Anna's amazement and indignation. He escorted the *Virginia* for the first twenty miles, and parted from her with injunctions to her captain not to land the old general anywhere in Mexico. At Sisal, Santa Anna sent a letter, enclosing one of his proclamations, to the Governor of Yucatan, with the request to give it publicity. The governor was aroused to the danger involved, and as soon as Santa Anna landed, he arrested him, sending him off, for greater security, to the State of Campece to await the action of President Juarez. Our own government, under the circumstances, approved the action of Captain Roe.

Afterwards Santa Anna was tried (for the fourth time) for treason and sentenced to death. This was commuted by President Juarez to banishment for eight years; but under the general amnesty of 1871, he was permitted to return, and passed the remaining five years of his life in obscurity in the City of Mexico."

AFTER THE EMPIRE

After serving out his term of office, in 1871, against the advice of his friends, Benito Juarez was again candidate for the presidency. Against him were the same two rival candidates as four years before—Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, and Porfirio Diaz. Juarez was elected by a small margin. Diaz pronounced and prepared to make armed resistance. Juarez had, however, served but a few months of his new term when stricken by illness. On July 17 he was attacked by a heart disease and on the next day died.

It is customary to recognize in the little Indian a truly great man. Both in Mexico and in foreign lands Benito Juarez has been considered a valiant fighter for democratic principles and a great ruler. Only now and then does one hear a voice of

depreciation. A brilliant writer in Mexico, Francisco Bulnes, some years ago, wrote a book under the title of *El Verdadero Juarez* (The True Juarez), in which he attacks the Indian president. People generally, however, in Mexico, revere him. He comes very near the common man. His Indian blood, his poverty, his simplicity gave him a strong hold upon the general public. It was his Indian characteristics which made him great. The splendid and costly monument erected to him in Mexico's centennial was justified. Little else of the great expense involved in that celebration would be so willingly contributed by a consulted public.

FAILURE OF EMPIRE

GUTIERREZ DE ESTRADA—EUROPEAN INTERVENTION—CONFERENCE OF ORIZABA—PURPOSE OF FRANCE—BATTLES OF PUEBLA—INVITATION TO MAXIMILIAN—FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN—DECLINE OF EMPIRE—DECREE OF OCTOBER 3, 1865—THE END OF EMPIRE.

FROM 1821, when Mexico's independence was achieved, right on through the whole period of the republic, monarchical ideas were smouldering. That efforts should be made during the administration of Guadalupe Victoria to restore Spain's power was not strange. It was more strange that, in 1840, after twenty years of independence, a genuine argument in favor of monarchy should be presented. On the 25th of August, a person of respectable position, well informed in public matters, and a clear thinker in political questions, Jose Maria Gutierrez de Estrada, addressed a letter to the president of the republic upon the necessity of seeking a possible remedy for the evils which afflicted the nation.

GUTIERREZ DE ESTRADA

Gutierrez de Estrada was really an able man, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs in Bustamante's cabinet and a senator of the republic. In this letter the author reviewed the attempts and failures of the Mexicans to rule themselves, and proposed the establishment of a monarchy under a European prince. His communication caused much feeling and aroused some wholesome discussion. It led to no serious action, but Gutierrez de Estrada presented his ideas; and later on he had opportunity to act upon them. His proposition rendered him so unpopular that he was forced to retire to Europe where he lived for many years. In 1854 Santa Anna unquestionably planned to revive a monarchical government. He appointed Gutierrez de Estrada a special commissioner to negotiate with

the governments of France, England, Austria, and Spain, for the establishment of a European prince upon a Mexican throne. The proposition was made just before his own fall from power, and nothing came of it. Two years later, in 1856, Haro y Tamariz, who had been leading in the difficulties in the city of Puebla, was suspected of monarchical plotting, proposing either

MIGUEL MIRAMON, GENERAL OF MAXIMILIAN, EXECUTED WITH HIM.

to set himself or an Iturbide upon the throne. It was thus not absolutely a new idea which was presented when, in 1861, the Juarez government decreed suspension of payments for two years on the foreign debts. At this moment, the defeated reactionaries, acting through the Spanish Minister and General Almonte, and using the foreign debts as an excuse, were recom-

ANTONIO PELAGIO DE LABASTIDA Y DAVALOS, ARCHBISHOP OF MEXICO AND FRIEND OF MAXIMILIAN.

mending the establishment of a European protectorate over Mexico.

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

The decree suspending payments really gave ground for intervention. France and England broke off relations with Mexico. In the Treaty of London, France, England, and Spain united to bring pressure to bear on Mexico. They agreed to occupy Mexican territory temporarily, and to administer the customs-houses within the area of occupation in such a way as to pay out the claims of the three nations. The three were to act in actual conjunction, but the Spanish fleet with Spanish troops arrived at Vera Cruz in December, 1861, and made a landing. This was not according to the agreement. On January 8, 1862, the French and English fleets appeared. The energetic efforts made by the Juarez government for defense have already been mentioned.

A conference was arranged with the leaders of the intervention at Soledad, in the State of Vera Cruz. Manuel Doblado represented the Mexican government ably. He proved that the chief causes for complaint were matters for which the Juarez government was not responsible and which it intended to promptly adjust. Thus, the British representative complained that at one time, their legation in Mexico had been robbed of funds; this had been done by General Marquez, who was at the time leading an insurrection against the government. One of the chief causes for Spanish intervention was the fact of assassinations of Spaniards; the Juarez government had taken steps to punish these outrages. Both the British and Spanish representatives showed themselves reasonable, and were willing to accept the explanations offered and reach some sort of agreement with the Mexican government. It soon became evident that the French representative was less inclined to reach an understanding. The upshot of the meeting at Soledad was that the allies would recognize the Mexican government as constitutional and legitimate; that they would occupy certain towns by permission; that a further conference would be held at Orizaba

in the effort to adjust the matters in dispute; that, if this conference should fail of reaching a satisfactory conclusion, the forces would be withdrawn to the places already occupied and matters should progress as might seem necessary.

CONFERENCE OF ORIZABA

At the second conference held at Orizaba, the French representative, Count de Saligny, refused to treat further, and announced the intention of his government to march upon the capital. Meantime, the French forces had been reinforced so that now more than 6,500 men were under arms on Mexican territory. With these forces were Mexicans who had been disturbers and in arms against the government. General Almonte, Padre Miranda, Haro y Tamariz, were among them. Under the protection of the French forces, Almonte even assumed the title of Provisional President of Mexico and issued manifestos, calling upon the Mexican people to overthrow the Juarez government. It was now recognized by the English and Spanish commissioners that France was playing a part in the intervention not warranted by the treaty which the three nations had entered into in London. Juarez protested against the presence of the Mexican hostile leaders in the French camp. The English and Spanish commissioners united in supporting his protest. The French paid no attention to these objections. General Miramon attempted to join Almonte and the other Mexican discontents in the French camp, but Commodore Dunlop, of the British force, declared that, if he attempted to land, he would at once arrest him on account of his part in the robbery of the British legation—which, it will be remembered, was the chief cause of complaint on the part of the British government.

PURPOSE OF FRANCE

As it was clear that France was bound to precipitate war with Mexico, and as neither Spain nor England was prepared to go to such an extent in pushing their claims, the English and Spanish troops were entirely withdrawn from the enter-

prise. The French were left alone in Mexico. Immediately after the conference at Orizaba, the French general proclaimed a military dictatorship in Mexico with Almonte at its head. The French army was organized into two divisions, and an advance upon the capital ordered. One division was to proceed by way of Jalapa, the other by Orizaba. What sympathetic Mexican forces could be gathered were placed under the command of Marquez, and joined the French in the advance.

BATTLES OF PUEBLA

Prominent among the military leaders of the republic were Generals Zaragoza, Escobedo, Comonfort, and Porfirio Diaz. A great battle took place on May 5, 1862, at Puebla. The Mexican army was under the leadership of Zaragoza, assisted by Porfirio Diaz. A brilliant victory was gained over the French forces, who were forced to withdraw to Orizaba. Forey, arriving at this time with reinforcements, brought up the French forces to a total of 20,000 men. Acting under orders of Napoleon, he assumed the title of military dictator. Puebla was captured by the French forces in May, 1863, and Diaz was taken prisoner. He succeeded, however, in escaping. Juarez and his government withdrew to San Luis Potosi, and the army of intervention occupied the capital city on the 11th of June. Forey, together with Marquez, Almonte and de Saligny, organized a supreme council which, in turn, named Almonte, Salas and Labastida—at that time in Europe—as a regency.

INVITATION TO MAXIMILIAN

A body known as the Assembly of Notables, numbering 231 persons, was brought together in July, and on the tenth, passed an act establishing monarchy, and inviting the archduke, Maximilian, of Austria, to accept the throne. It is an interesting
[illegible]t that Gutierrez de Estrada served upon the committee
[illegible] waited upon Maximilian to present this invitation.
three years before, he had written his famous [illegible]
[illegible]e establishment of a monarchical government

and de Saligny were recalled to France, and Marshal Bazaine was sent to take charge of the French soldiers and to prepare the country for Maximilian's coming. He proceeded to effectively occupy the country, depending upon Marquez and Mejia as his chief generals. The republican forces were scattered. The only serious body of men in arms was in the south in charge of Diaz. The government retreated to Saltillo, then to Monterey. When Maximilian was invited to accept the throne, he demanded proof that the Mexicans really wanted him as ruler, and also asked for guarantees of protection of his throne. Marshal Bazaine sent him a certificate which seemed to represent a general demand on the part of Mexican citizens for his coming; and while Napoleon did not actually guarantee protection, he gave satisfactory assurance of his intention to support the newly established throne.

FERDINAND MAXIMILIAN

At this time, the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, was thirty-one years of age. He had been interested in military and naval affairs and had been at the head of the Austrian navy. He was a man of scientific and artistic tastes, and wrote several books which show some literary ability. In 1857 he married Charlotte, sister of Leopold II, King of Belgium. He was a man of good impulses, but vain and extravagant in personal expenditures. In accepting the crown of Mexico, there is no question that he believed he was doing a kindness to that country, and that he entered upon the experiment of government with high ideals and noble purposes. His brother, emperor of the Austro-Hungarian empire, disapproved the movement, but the archduke was firm in his resolve. On April 8, 1864, he signed a compact whereby he relinquished all his rights of succession to the Austrian throne. On April 10th, the committee of the Assembly of Notables waited upon him and presented the formal offer of imperial power. He accepted the invitation, and took a formal oath in his palace of Miramar; the Mexican flag was furled, salutes fired, and great enthusiasm shown. Soon after he and

his beautiful wife embarked for Mexico, and arrived at Vera Cruz May 29, 1864. He was met at that port by Almonte, president of the regency, and their progress to the capital city was a continuous ovation. At every town of consequence through which they passed triumphal arches and decorations had been prepared and public functions were carried through. After Maximilian reached his capital, Juarez retreated still further north, stopping for a time at Chihuahua, but falling back ultimately to Paso del Norte.

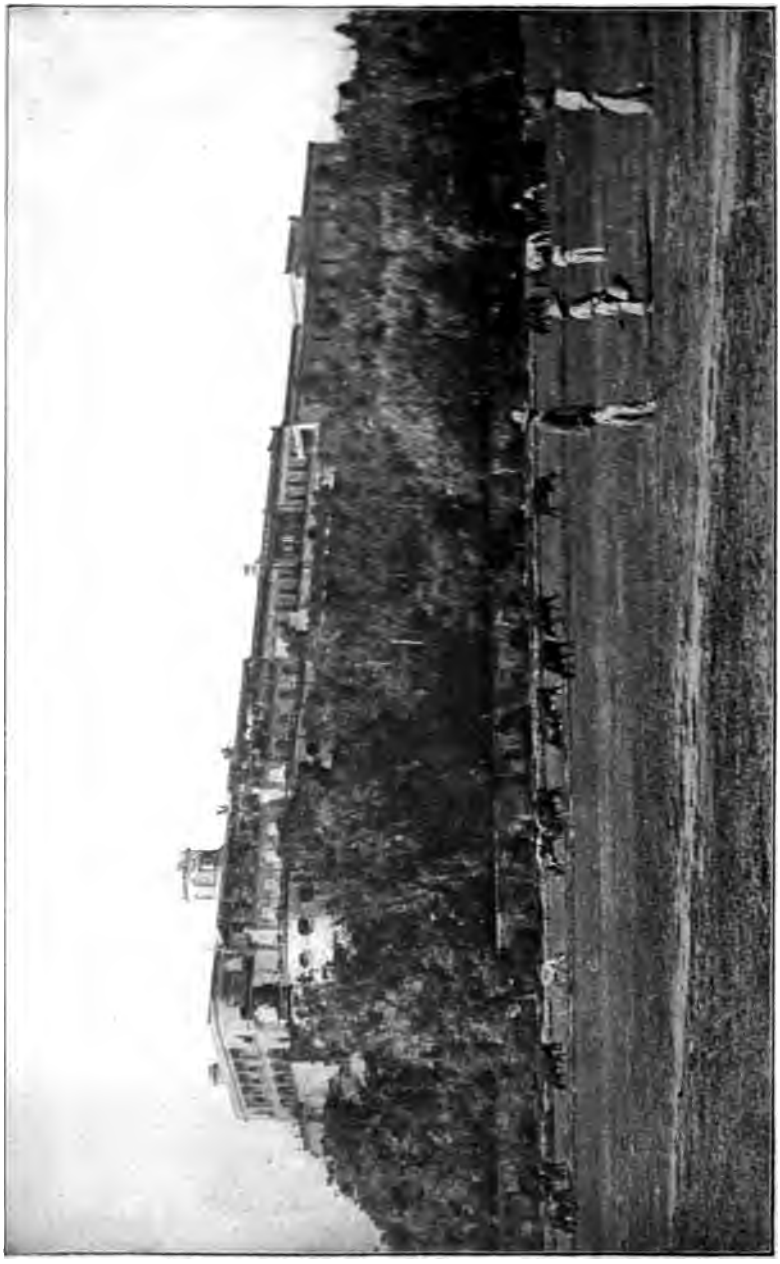
DECLINE OF EMPIRE

It is unnecessary for us to go into the details of Maximilian's rule. It was brilliant, extravagant, ill-adapted to the conditions of the country. It was very sad to see the efforts which the really well-meaning man made to gain the sympathies and affections of his new subjects. He soon found that even his own supporters were disorganized and quarreling. His desire to placate the liberal leaders and bring them to his side caused great dissatisfaction to his own followers. Himself an ardent Catholic, he was soon in open rupture with the church party; the clericals were far from satisfied because he left the laws of the reform in operation. It was a wise move on his part, as he saw how sadly the nation had suffered from the absorption of wealth and power by the Church. So strong, however, was the feeling of dissatisfaction of the clericals that the papal nuncio withdrew from Mexico. More and more Maximilian discovered that the certificate which had been sent him, showing a strong demand on the part of the Mexican people for his coming, did not actually represent the national feeling. His party was in reality a small one, and experience soon showed that its friendship was not to be depended upon. Marshal Bazaine of course represented his chief hope. At first there seemed to have been most friendly relations between them, but with the passage of time, Bazaine's interest in the experiment waned, and his personal support weakened. The United States, which had recognized the authority of Juarez when he was in

Vera Cruz in 1861, continued to recognize him as the only legal head of Mexican affairs. While this attitude was, at the moment of Maximilian's arrival in Mexico, of no great importance, it became more so when the War of the Rebellion was finished. Europe of course had anticipated a different outcome of our civil war. England, France, and Germany, all expected that the South would gain the victory, and that the Confederate States were to be counted on in future politics. The sympathy of England and France was distinctly with the southern states. Had the Confederacy succeeded, it is probable that the most friendly relations would have existed between its government and the Mexican Empire. When, however, the southern cause proved to be a lost one, affairs looked very different. All through the war, Washington had made known to France its disapproval of the intervention business; no attention had been paid to its representations. Now that the war was over, the United States firmly announced to France that she had trespassed on the Monroe Doctrine; it demanded the withdrawal of French troops without delay and the cessation of colonization. It sent a military officer of high rank to Paso del Norte as an adviser to Juarez and located an army on the Mexican frontier. Napoleon saw the hopelessness of further interference and began to act upon our demands.

THE DECREE OF OCTOBER 3, 1865

Maximilian saw of course that his chief support was failing. The same objections that had been made to the presence of French soldiers might with equal propriety apply to any Belgian or Austrian soldiers who might be in the country. He knew that reliance upon the Mexican army was dangerous. The desperate situation of affairs no doubt was responsible for his passing the famous decree of October 3, 1865, which was bloodthirsty in its nature, and condemned to death all who should be found bearing arms against his government, or supplying arms or material for war. The issuance of the decree was bad enough; it was, however, actually enforced, and some officers



CASTLE OF CHAPULTEPEC, RESIDENCE OF MAXIMILIAN, PORFIRIO DIAZ, FRANCISCO I. MADERO.

of the republican forces were executed. This was a fatal blunder on the part of the unfortunate ruler. It called forth protest from 200 Belgian prisoners who were held by liberal forces at Tacambaro. They stated in their communication to the Emperor that they had come to Mexico solely to act as a guard of honor to their empress, and that they had been forced to fight against principles identical with their own. As the French troops were gradually withdrawn, and prisoners were exchanged with the republican government, courage on the part of Mexican patriots of course increased. As the French forces abandoned ground, the republican troops advanced to occupy. Bazaine, who considered the case hopeless, strongly advised the abdication of the emperor. Maximilian hesitated, was in uncertainty. Juarez came south from Paso del Norte to Chihuahua. Victories began to be gained; Escobedo captured Monterey and Alteo. Carlota hurried to Europe in the hope of enlisting the further assistance of Napoleon and of the Head of the Church, but all in vain. Maximilian, who had left the city of Mexico, called a council at Orizaba and submitted the question of his abdication to it in November, 1866. After a discussion, he was advised by a small majority to remain in power. The Church party, which had been alienated, offered its support. In his efforts to placate the public and win liberal leaders to his support, Maximilian had thought it profitable to send Marquez and Miramon on foreign missions. Returning now, at this crisis, there were put in charge of imperial forces. The imperial government was located at Queretaro.

THE END OF EMPIRE

In November, Escobedo, with 15,000 soldiers, advanced upon Queretaro and laid siege to the city. Matters became desperate. Just as an escape had been arranged for the unfortunate emperor, one of his trusted lieutenants, Miguel Lopez, betrayed the plan to the independent forces, and showed a method of entering the city quietly by night. His plan was followed, and the city captured on May 15th. The emperor and General Mejia

barely escaped capture and took refuge on a little hill known as *Cerro de las Campanas.* Here they were attacked and finally surrendered. A trial took place in the *Teatro de Iturbide,* and Ferdinando Maximiliano, Miguel Miramon, and Tomas Mejia were found guilty of filibuster, treason, and the issuance of the decree of October 3, 1865. In this trial the well known advocate, Riva Palacio, made a masterly defense, and was assisted by skilful lawyers; it was in vain. After the sentence of death had been passed, he personally went to San Luis Potosi to plead with Juarez to spare the Emperor's life. The Princess Salm-Salm, who had been conspicuous in the emperor's court, did the same. The United States sent in a protest. All was of no avail, and at seven in the morning of June 19th, the execution of Maximilian and his two generals took place upon the *Cerro de las Campanas.*

MATERIAL PROGRESS

RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT—MISTAKES—THE TEHUANTEPEC RAILWAY—FOREIGN CONTROL—HARBOR IMPROVEMENT—THE DRAINAGE CANAL—INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT—POST OFFICE AND OPERA HOUSE.

NO ONE denies that in many lines of material progress much was achieved under Porfirio Diaz. He was a man of force, ideas, and clear sight. When he came into power, his first problem was to deal with the financial conditions of the country. They were desperate. A definite policy was necessary. He pursued rigid economy, cutting out every unnecessary expense and reducing public administration to the minimum compatible with efficiency. Improvement was made even during his first term of office. In his later terms, the national debt was consolidated, the rate of interest paid upon it was reduced, the problem of the depreciation of silver was solved, and the income of the country enormously increased. Whatever criticisms one may make of Limantour, there is no question of this real improvement. From a nation which had been looked upon as bankrupt, Mexico was raised to one with high credit in foreign lands. Year by year the scale of both income and expenditure increased enormously. During the later years of the Porfirian regime, the government account books showed a regular surplus of income over expenditure.

RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT

He has been famous for his encouragement of the development of railways. It may be said that practically the entire system of railroad lines in the republic was developed during the period of his administration. When he first came into power, there was almost nothing except the Mexican Railway, from Vera Cruz to the capital city. To-day there are approximately ten thousand miles. This is creditable even though there

are some criticisms to be made. Through a considerable portion of the period of railroad development in Mexico, liberal subsidies were paid to the constructors. This is not the place to consider the question of the legitimacy of paying subsidies to private railway companies, but it is certain that subsidies should never be more in amount than to serve as an encouragement of the construction; there have been times when subsidies paid to Mexican railways exceeded the amount necessary for their construction. When the Mexican National Railway was laid down, it received a subsidy per mile of track so liberal that there was large money in making the line between two cities as long as possible instead of short. After that railway really became a going concern, conducted as a railway, it was forced to spend a large portion of its earnings in shortening the line. The large subsidies were a bonanza for the original constructors; they proved a curse for the practical enterprise.

MISTAKES OF DEVELOPMENT

Most of the Mexican railways were constructed by foreign capital and with reference to the convenience and plans of foreigners. The ideal network of railroads in Mexico would be one which radiated out from the capital city and which rendered connection between that city and every portion of the republic easy, prompt, and convenient. It was the last thing thought of. Only a few years ago, if Mexico had had serious trouble with the United States, bodies of soldiers could have been thrown into points of crucial importance much more easily from Washington than from the City of Mexico. In fact, they could not have been better devised, if planned for the conquest of Mexico. American soldiers could have occupied the west coast, the Gulf, and the highland of the interior more promptly and conveniently than Mexican soldiery. Only toward the very end of the Diaz regime did it seem to dawn upon those in power that they had been blind to the actual necessities and interests of the country in this matter.

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MAKING COFFEE BAGS, SANTA GERTRUDIS, NEAR ORIZABA.
MANUFACTURING DEVELOPED NOTABLY UNDER PORFIRIO DIAZ.

THE TEHUANTEPEC RAILWAY

During the term of office of Manuel Gonzales, Porfirio Diaz, as governor of the State of Oaxaca, undertook the construction of the Tehuantepec Railway. It was a short line connecting the gulf port of Coatzacoalcos with the Pacific port, Salina Cruz. Its construction at that time seemed to have been premature. At all events, it had little business, was neglected, and fell completely into dilapidation. Much later on, its serious value and significance again became evident and its reintegration was undertaken. In connection with it, went the development of the two terminal ports. In this great work, Porfirio Diaz united the Mexican government and the great English firm of S. Pearson. An enormous expenditure for the improvement of the ports and the development of the railroad was made, and it extended over a long period of years. This development has taken place, and to-day the Tehuantepec Railroad is one of the most important enterprises in the republic. Properly conducted, it should render the Panama Canal a matter of no serious commercial importance. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of loading and unloading involved in transferring freight from steamers to railroad, and vice versa, the shortness of the freight journey by way of the Tehuantepec Railway gives the enterprise a great practical advantage.

FOREIGN CONTROL

In course of time, considerable disaffection arose in Mexico over the fact that the railroads of the country were largely foreign enterprises. It was felt that they not only were taking money from the country, but that they introduced great numbers of foreign employees. The result was, that considerable agitation took place in the direction of the nationalization of the railways. Undoubtedly in the beginning there was considerable patriotism in the idea. In the early agitation it was an anti-foreign feeling and a fear lest foreign interests would interfere in the affairs of the country that gave the impulse to the taking over of the roads. When, however, the nationaliza-

tion actually took place, these motives had disappeared or became secondary; the nationalization, instead of freeing Mexico from the clutch of the outsider, really betrayed her more fully to it; more than that, it was an opportunity for graft rarely, if ever, surpassed.

HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS

One of the most important of the lines of material progress under Porfirio Diaz was the improvement of the national harbors. Improvement at Tampico was undertaken when Porfirio Diaz was in the cabinet of Manuel Gonzales as Minister of Fomento. In the old days Tampico was a place of small significance; located near the mouth of the Panuco River, it was accessible to vessels of small draught only in favorable conditions of the weather. Ships drawing more than nine feet could never be sure of entrance, on account of the formation of sandbars at the river's mouth in connection with gulf storms. The improvements at Tampico were planned by American engineers and largely carried out by our people; to-day the mouth of the Panuco river is at all times open to the entrance of vessels drawing even as much as twenty or twenty-two feet. As a result, the city of Tampico has grown by leaps and bounds; its business, both of import and of export, has developed handsomely.

Since those days, great improvements have been made in all the other important harbors of Mexico on both coasts. Many millions of dollars were spent during the Diaz administration on the port of Vera Cruz. The harbor of Coatzacoalcos, in connection with the development of the Tehuantepec Railway, has been enormously bettered; it is now called Puerto Mexico. At the other end of the Tehuantepec Railroad, the Pacific port of Salina Cruz has been practically created. Other Pacific ports, as those of Mazatlan and Manzanillo, have been developed beyond recognition. No one can find fault with these notable improvements of the national harbors. They are examples of

enlightened progressivism, and so far as they are free from graft, are only to be approved.

THE DRAINAGE CANAL

In the direction of public utility, many important enterprises were carried through. Preëminent among these is the famous drainage canal of the valley of Mexico. In the olden time, the lakes in the valley of Mexico were subject to serious overflow. With this overflow the city was subject to frightful inundation, with resulting loss of life, property, and subsequent disease. During the three hundred years of Spanish rule, the problem was a serious one, and many efforts were made toward its solution. The great cut of Nochistongo remains as an impressive monument of such endeavors. In the cutting of the great tunnel of Nochistongo years of time, millions of dollars, hundreds of lives were demanded; when it was finished, it was not a complete solution of the difficulty. Things were improved, but inundation of the city still took place at times with all its frightful losses.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The drainage canal, however, undertaken and carried through to completion under Porfirio Diaz, has satisfactorily settled the problem, and to-day the city is free from danger of floods. The drainage canal is but one of many enterprises for public advantage to be credited to the past regime. Many institutions of philanthropy, education, and betterment were due to the Porfirian administration. These are generally called to the notice of the foreign visitor. Among them are such things as the general hospital, the national penitentiary, and the geological institute. The only question in regard to all such institutions is the degree to which the nation's needs demand them and to which the economic conditions of the nation warrant them. There is, and should be, no limits to their development except these. The national penitentiary is often said to be the most complete and perfect building of its kind. If this is

true, so much the worse that in the same city Belem exists. Is there in any portion of the civilized world a fouler blot in the way of a punitive institution? It would be much better to have a decent average between the two than to have such sharply contrasted extremes. Many of the same visitors to whom the national penitentiary was shown while they were in the capital city could not fail to see San Juan de Ulua as they sailed away from the harbor of Vera Cruz. Those who have actually visited the dripping lower vaults in it, have much to think of. So far as the geological institute is concerned, the only question is to what degree it serves its purpose to the advantage of the nation. All such institutions are warranted when they are freely voted by a thinking people who are willing to tax themselves to the extent necessary for their foundation and support. It would be difficult to find any section of the United States which would be willing so to tax itself for the support of an institution of pure science.

POSTOFFICE AND OPERA HOUSE

It was under Porfirio Diaz that such splendid examples of national advancement in civilization, art, and culture were constructed as the city postoffice and national opera house. Both are splendid buildings of marble. Either of them would be creditable in the capital city of the richest nations on the globe. They evidence clearly that a certain class in Mexico knows what is fine, beautiful, impressive, artistic. So far as Mexico is concerned, the splendid postoffice building and the national opera house exist for two reasons, and two reasons only. First, they are intended to impress the public and the foreign world with the advancement of the nation. They may serve their purpose to deceive outsiders, but they deceive nobody within. Buildings costing one-fifth as much would serve legitimate ends fully as well. So far as the national opera house is concerned, it is doubtful whether a people should be taxed for the support of an institution which, in its very nature, ministers to the needs and pleasure of an extremely small element

of the population. Even in an empire such a building is questionable; in a republic it is out of place. Secondly, these splendid buildings exist in Mexico because they furnished superb opportunities for graft. Whatever it may have cost to build them, it is certain that the people paid far more. The opera house is yet unfinished. Estimates regarding its cost vary. Probably it has already demanded an expenditure of 11,000,000 *pesos;* the end is not yet in sight. It is improbable that it can be finished at a less total outlay than 15,000,000 *pesos.* That means that a tax of one *peso* upon the total population, man, woman, and child is represented by it. Such an expenditure is in itself ridiculous. But the worst feature of the whole thing is that every one realizes that many have grown rich upon that single building—and there is still chance for several modest fortunes to be made before the finishing touches are put upon it.

It is these things in the direction of material progress which have most impressed the visitor to Mexico. Seeing them, he has returned to his own country sounding high praises for the neighboring republic. Because of them, Porfirio Diaz has been lauded. Were such things associated with a steady rise in general comfort, they would indeed be causes for congratulation. If, with the marked material advancement of the country in showy lines, there had been equal progress in the condition of the people, the name of Porfirio Diaz would unquestionably be entitled to all praise.

AFTER DIAZ, WHAT?

TWO PHASES IN THE DIAZ REGIME—MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT—THE CIENTIFICOS—LIMANTOUR—AFTER DIAZ, WHAT?—BERNARDO REYES—A CHANGE IN PROGRAM—REYES VERSUS LIMANTOUR—RAMON CORRAL ENTERS—HIS CHARACTER—RETIREMENT AND EXILE OF REYES—THE END OF REYES.

TWENTY years ago it was a common question. Every one was praising Diaz as a great ruler, a constructive statesman. But there was fear lest, when the iron hand was lifted, chaos would come and anarchy. The question was asked with most anxiety of course by foreigners, especially Americans, who were putting time and strength, money and energy into Mexican enterprises.

TWO PHASES IN THE DIAZ REGIME

A Mexican writer has said that the old regime must be divided into two periods if it is to be well understood. "The first period covers the *personal* administration of General Diaz from the time when he was elected for the second term President of the Republic up to the moment in which that opportunist party was formed which was called *partido cientifico,* no one knows why. The second period covers the time from the moment when this party began to influence politics until its abuses and deficiencies gave rise to the armed protest of public opinion. The first period merits only praise. The blemishes, which might mar, disappear in the splendor which the country attained in that so happy epoch. The second offers a sinister picture of demoralization such as the most benevolent of historians will never be able to dissimulate." It is really well to clearly distinguish and sharply contrast the two periods recognized by the Mexican author.

MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT

It is indeed possible to give too much praise to Porfirio Diaz for the material development and progress made by his country

under his administration. The question may well be asked whether material development and progress *could* have been delayed; whether it would not have necessarily taken place under a much less able ruler. It is not true that the material development of Mexico has been a phenomenon; other Latin America republics have made similar development, and yet have had no man of iron, no Porfirio Diaz. Argentina, Uruguay, Chili, are better developed, and on the whole more safely, than Mexico. Still we are willing to give the old man credit for his railroads, telegraph systems, and works of public improvement. The same writer already quoted, says: "The country finds itself crossed in many directions by the iron trackings, some of very doubtful utility, as well as a vast telegraphic net; the postal service is one of the most perfect of the world; there have been accomplished good port improvements, and most important drainage systems. —Better, however, would have responded to the exigencies of progress, less railroad and more good trails; less costly railways and more cart-roads accessible to traffic; less of sumptuous palaces in the capital city and more of rural wealth and culture."

THE CIENTIFICOS

The *cientificos* were, for the most part, men of ability. They had no actual organization; within the group there were lesser groups which viewed each other with hostility and suspicion. They had no organization, no meetings, no announced platform. They were shrewd, ambitious, heartless schemers, who surrounded the President and lived upon him. In so far as the group had a leader, it was Limantour. He was the center. To a large degree he was the brains. In so far as the body recognized any adviser, it recognized Jose Yves Limantour. In the last cabinet of President Diaz—before the revolution of Madero precipitated changes—there were at least three badly defined cliques of divergent interests. No one of them was strong enough to enter the open field and struggle for supremacy and leadership. To attempt to do so was certain suicide. The *cientificos* recognized the lack, and their only actual bond of interest was to perpetuate

the old man in power. He recognized that he ought to leave the presidency; he was afraid to do so, knowing that his disappearance would bring about a struggle between the elements surrounding him. They brought their whole influence to bear upon him to keep him in his chair, well knowing that the moment he gave up control, their period of plundering the people would come to an immediate end. In his last years of office the President was afraid of his ministers, morally, politically, physically. His son said to a friend of mine who brought a matter of interest to his attention, asking that he present the matter to his father: "My father is afraid of his ministers; he does what they say he must do, he does nothing which they disapprove." It was a sad sight to see the man of iron so weakened by the rust of age.

LIMANTOUR

Jose Yves Limantour was for many years the Secretary of the Treasury in Mexico. On the occasion of my first visit to the capital city, a friend at whose house I visited spoke in high praise of the man's ability and devotion to his country. He was said to accept no salary as Secretary of the Treasury. Limantour at that time was not a man of wealth; if he *had* been it is doubtful whether it would be commendable for him to serve his country without a salary. Every public servant is entitled to reasonable compensation for his service, if it is good service; no country can ever be in such desperate financial straits that it cannot afford to pay faithful public officers just salaries. The duty of such officers is to earn their money and to receive it, using it as they would any other honest income. We have said that Limantour was not a rich man when he went into the Department of the Treasury; yet, before much time had passed in office, he is said to have erected a 300,000-*peso* mansion upon the Paseo de la Reforma. He gained a great reputation as a financier. When he came into office, the country had entered upon a period of prosperity; there was an annual surplus in the treasury, but it was exhausted in paying the accumulated interest charges upon the national debt. Limantour went to London and arranged the

matter of the debt to the satisfaction of the creditors and the advantage of his nation. It was really an achievement of consequence. But it was highly overestimated. It was under Limantour that the Mexican government reformed its currency in order to escape the disastrous fluctuations in exchange which rendered business enterprises uncertain. He dealt with the problem fairly well, but it is one which has been solved as satisfactorily in various other countries, and it is not certain that he deserves the high credit which he has received. It is not our intention to detract from the genuine praise which he deserves; we only wish to emphasize the fact that Mexico, the world, President Diaz, and Limantour himself took him too seriously and exaggerated his importance as a financier and political economist.

AFTER DIAZ, WHAT?

After Diaz, what? Years ago a man who had resided in Mexico for many years asked me the question. I at once replied, "Bernardo Reyes." My interlocutor queried: "Who is Bernardo Reyes?" I refused to tell him, as he was a resident of years in Mexico. Months afterwards he wrote me: "I know now who Bernardo Reyes is. You are right. After Diaz, Bernardo Reyes." At that time President Diaz had just summoned Governor Bernardo Reyes from Monterey, the capital of his State of Nuevo Leon, and made him Minister of War in his Cabinet.

BERNARDO REYES

At that time Porfirio Diaz *intended* that Bernardo Reyes should succeed him. He made him understand that fact; he made those associated with him in government realize the fact; he accustomed the people to look to Reyes. Reyes had qualities. On the whole, he had not been a bad governor. During his administration his capital city had made great improvement—in appearance, utilities, hygiene, education. He did away with the whole vicious system of *jefes politicos*. Further in his favor, it was to be said that he was not really a *cientifico*. We have already

stated that that group had no organization, no officers, no real adviser. As one associated with the president, he was with the *cientificos,* but he was not one among them. In constant dealings with them, he never committed himself to the interests of any one of the jealous and suspicious schemers. He was a man apart.

A CHANGE IN PROGRAM

In 1901 Porfirio Diaz had a mysterious illness; he retired to Cuernavaca, and it was given out that his condition was serious. All sorts of guesses were made as to his trouble. Some were doubtful and believed that the old man was practicing one of his favorite tactics. Not infrequently, when he wished to find out whether plots were being hatched against him, Porfirio Diaz made some pretense of physical or other difficulties; under such circumstances, if a conspiracy was actually on foot, some signs of it appeared. The old man would immediately suppress it without difficulty. On this occasion, however, public opinion generally believed that the old man was dying, and anxiety prevailed regarding his successor. Bernardo Reyes was publicly considered to be already in power, when President Diaz came back from Cuernavaca. Whether his illness was serious or feigned, whether, as many believed, he came near death through poison, he was somewhat piqued that people had so easily supplied his place.

Shortly after his return, he presented a bill to congress for action. He desired authority at will to appoint any one he pleased to take his place in case of death, disability, or absence from the country. For many years congress had been complaisant to every wish of the great dictator. On this occasion they hesitated and quibbled; for the first time in many years the president found himself opposed. The point made by congress was that it would be much better for the position of Vice-President to be restored and for a definite Vice-President to be elected at the same time with the President, to take his place in case of necessity.

MEXICAN RURALES.
A favorite development of Porfirio Diaz' government.

REYES VERSUS LIMANTOUR

It was now realized quite generally that the President himself was not likely to appoint Reyes as his successor. He had been greatly impressed by the work of Limantour; he had come to feel that the money problem was the great question before the nation; his views had changed; it was believed that what he wanted was to name Limantour in place of Reyes. A furore of excitement rose in Mexico. Politics became popular. Not only outside thinkers, but the *cientificos* themselves divided. There were definite parties for Reyes and Limantour—there were Reyesistas and Limantouristas. The fight between the two men waxed warm. The opposition journals brought up the question whether Limantour was really a citizen of the republic, and therefore eligible for the position of vice-president or president; his father was a citizen of France, and while Limantour himself was born in Mexico, his father ever continued to pride himself upon his being a foreigner, a Frenchman. It was also claimed that Limantour was a Jew; this in Mexico means much. President Diaz was absolutely afraid to push the matter to an issue. He felt that he could not force Limantour upon the people; he determined that his old favorite, Reyes, should not win against his candidate.

RAMON CORRAL ENTERS

The result of the whole movement was the reëstablishment of the vice-presidency. Bernardo Reyes was removed from the cabinet and returned to Monterey, as governor of his state. A new candidate was substituted for the two who had been struggling for the office. It was Ramon Corral, Governor of the State of Sonora. The acquaintance between Diaz and Corral was one of old date. Corral was hated as few men in Mexico. This hatred was partly due to his supplanting the popular idol—for Bernardo Reyes had been a popular idol; it was partly because he would clearly be the continuator of President Diaz' attitude and methods; it was partly because he represented the brutal type of vulgar exploiters of the people, the grafter, which the *cientificos*

had made so well known. Under him there would be no hope, and the frightful exploitation of the country would be continued. While a man with force, with few friends and uncertain affiliations, he was to President Diaz a most subservient assistant. His loyalty was genuine, but it was associated with a cringing yielding hard to understand in a man so harsh and firm to all other persons.

HIS CHARACTER

The author already quoted says in regard to Ramon Corral: "The motives which General Diaz had for fixing himself upon Señor Corral, are not well known; it is said that they were great friends which, though certain, is not sufficient reason why the President should seek him as his probable successor in command. It is also said that his candidacy had been little less than forced by Yankee diplomacy which counted upon a good ally in Don Ramon Corral, connected already in his private business with great North American enterprises. Nor is it improbable, from the energetic character which Señor Corral showed that he possessed that, while governor of the State of Sonora, he promised to Don Porfirio Diaz that his policy of peace and change from brutal oppression would be continued by him. He was elected vice-president against public opinion which did not see in him a man of the necessary talents and prestige for so delicate a charge, apart from the repugnance with which they saw a governor, product of the double insistence of General Diaz and of the government at Washington."

RETIREMENT AND EXILE OF REYES

Bernardo Reyes returned to Monterey and resumed the governorship of his state of Neuvo Leon. He there had some exciting times; there were local disturbances—attributed by many to influences from the capital city. However, the ex-minister of war attended to business, and emerged from his difficulties with fair credit. As the elections of 1910 approached, he was much talked of as candidate for vice-president. A strong movement

was started by his friends in his favor. No doubt in a fair election he would have stood considerable chance of being elected. It is even possible that, under such circumstances, he might have stood as candidate for a yet higher office. Personal ambition, loyalty to principles, a spirit of high patriotism—all urged him to accept the nomination and lead the movement. But he vacillated; he finally printed a manifesto; publicly and privately he told his friends that he would do nothing against the wishes of the president. He could not have done a less wise thing; whatever damage his candidacy could do had already been accomplished; his friends and followers were left in a sad plight. His patron, the friend for whose wishes he expressed such high regard, was already hostilized. In disgrace he was sent to Europe on a military mission. Everybody knew that it was actually exile.

THE END OF REYES

Yet the public had become accustomed to the thought—After Diaz, Reyes. When his power was tottering near its crash, Diaz telegraphed for his old favorite. Who knows what hopes he cherished in that hour of desperation? Reyes lingered in Havana, and finally arrived in Vera Cruz by the same steamer Ypiringa, by which the ex-president left the Republic. Reyes, humbled, went to Mexico. He entered into compact with de la Barra and Francisco I. Madero. He agreed that true patriotism required his falling into line with existing conditions, and promised not to interfere with the natural course of things in the coming election. Afterwards he changed his mind, probably under the influence of some supporters of the old regime, who believed that he might still retain much of his one-time popularity, and entered the lists as a presidential candidate in the fall of 1911. He was stoned upon the streets; the popular idol had hopelessly fallen; his irresolution and weakening when the people demanded his leadership on two occasions had chilled the popular affections. Politically, as a military leader, as a man, he had lost his hold. His candidacy counted for nothing. With Madero's ascent to power, he fled to the United States; there he still dreamed of power, and

INSURRECTOS SCOUTING, NEAR BAUCHE.

Photo. by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

BERNARDO REYES.

organized a revolution. He is said to have issued various manifestos, and a revolutionary plan. In December, 1911, he crossed again into Mexico. He expected an uprising in his favor; he felt sure that thousands would rally to his call. No one rallied to him. With a few friends and servants, he wandered at night, seeking his promised supporters, and finally, worn out and hopeless, surrendered himself at Linares, December 25th. It was a sad Christmas for the man who, at one time, was expected to be the president of Mexico. In his surrender Reyes said: "With my presentation in Linares, my public life comes to an end, and my actual existence is placed at the disposition of legal action; but under this conception I have worked as I have done because I judge myself powerless to make a regular war which will give results; I have accepted, then, this sacrifice with the end of avoiding the prolongation of sterile revolts in the Republic."

General Reyes was tried and sentenced to the Santiago prison in the City of Mexico.

A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

"BARBAROUS MEXICO"—A FLOOD OF ANSWER—TURNER'S BOOK TRUE—LAND CONFISCATION—PLANTATION SLAVERY IN YUCATAN—VALLE NACIONAL—THE RAILWAY DEAL—AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP WITH DIAZ—WEAK POINTS IN "BARBAROUS MEXICO."

ON ACCOUNT of the material prosperity which seemed to prevail, and the great progress which Mexico seemed to have made under the government of Porfirio Diaz, there was constant adulation of the great man. Foreigners particularly were fond of speaking of him as a great statesman, a wise ruler, and a constructive administrator. His personal character was praised in terms of fulsome flattery. It was rare indeed that any voice was raised in protest, or any word of criticism was to be heard.

BARBAROUS MEXICO

In 1909, however, there appeared in several numbers of the American Magazine articles by John Kenneth Turner. They created a veritable sensation. They were a vigorous assault upon Diaz personally, and upon his whole political and economic system, and upon the partnership which it was asserted existed between the great dictator and the American Government. The series had been begun with a great flourish of trumpets; but, after a few of the articles were printed, the publishers of the magazine decided to discontinue them. This could not possibly have been because the public were not interested in them; nor was it because the facts which they contained were false; nor was it because the man had exhausted his field of study; nor because the publishers were finding that the series took more space in the magazine than had been anticipated. The series, however, ceased, and Mr. Turner was forced to print his later articles in another journal. All his articles were finally reprinted in book form in 1911 under the title of "Barbarous Mexico."

In book form his writing has met with fair success, but the timeliness and importance of it was in its first appearance in the periodicals.

A FLOOD OF ANSWER

To many people what Turner said was a surprise. To many it was so shocking as to seem incredible. It was hard to believe that, in the nineteenth—nay, in the twentieth—century, things could be as he presented them; it was felt that he must have made mistakes or lied. A flood of articles was written to refute him. They varied from the crudest and most ignorant assertions of the uninformed up to the most skilfully constructed and forcibly presented arguments. A host of writers came to the support of the assailed ruler and the discredited system. Among the flood of contributions to this defense, two books particularly were interesting. One was a book by Jose F. Godoy, the Mexican Minister to Cuba. It is entitled, "Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico." It is the strangest book ever put out by an American publisher with the idea of selling it in the open market for a fair price. How any professional publishing house of good standing could consent to offer it is incomprehensible. Seventy pages of fulsome flattery by prominent Americans form an important part of this strange document. The other book was written to order by James Creelman. It is unnecessary to make further comment upon it. It is interesting of course—Creelman writes well; it is entitled, "Porfirio Diaz—the Man." It is easily accessible to all who care to read it. Porfirio Diaz was always ready to pay well for biographical work in his behalf. As far back as 1899 it was suggested to me that it would be a work of patriotism, of recognition of high worth, of encouragement of a nation struggling toward advancement under a wise ruler, to prepare a volume upon the life and work of the great ruler; it was suggested to me at the time that such a work would not fail of recognition, and that time spent in its preparation would be profitably employed; it was asserted that, financially, the effort would be much more remunerative than study of mountain Indians; the

suggestion was semi-official, but I had no time nor inclination to act upon it. There were, however, plenty of others who had no matters of serious importance to occupy their time and thought. Many such have given the world biographical sketches of the great ruler. Thus, after producing the truly remarkable work, "Mexico as I Saw It," Mrs. J. Alec Tweedie returned to Mexico to prepare a life of Porfirio Diaz; that she had exceptional opportunities to present the whole truth to the world is suggested by the fact that the private journals and papers of the President were put at her disposition.

TURNER'S BOOK TRUE

John Kenneth Turner's book is true. It could not possibly have made so much commotion otherwise. Had it been false, it would have fallen of its own weight; there would have been no need of refutation. The simple life of the old ruler and the fact of Mexico itself would be sufficient answer if Turner were a liar. The facts he states unfortunately are true. We believe that he draws mistaken inferences, that he is at times unfortunate in judgment, but his facts are real. He says in the very brief note of preface to his book: "The term 'barbarous,' which I use in my title, is intended to apply to Mexico's form of government rather than to its people." It was perhaps the quickest way to get a hearing. It is an unjust title. It has been misunderstood both in this country and in Mexico. People who have not read the book assume of course that it is an attack upon the people of our neighboring republic. In Mexico itself the name stung bitterly. Thousands of high-spirited, well-meaning men, who know no English and have never seen the book or know its line of argument, have felt outraged by the title. Of course it may be said that people who do not read a book have no right to express an opinion on it or to be influenced by a mere name. It is true, however, that even among ourselves such things take place, and in Mexico there has been much feeling against Mr. Turner by people who, if they knew what he has said, would find that he was championing their cause, fighting their battle.

Mr. Turner's articles were actually a voice in the wilderness. They contain many true things well and forcibly said; they were written with a keen sense of the wrongs from which the people of Mexico were suffering. Out of the many things which he discusses we shall consider five only—the confiscation of land, the drifting of Indians into slavery, the drifting of Mexicans into forced service, the iniquitous railroad deal, and the American partnership.

LAND CONFISCATION

Under the Diaz regime, brilliant and splendid, thousands of Mexicans—Indians and *mestizos*—who had been little landholders were absolutely robbed of their small holdings. This was done of course under cover of law. It affected whole tribes of Indians; it blotted out entire villages of simple and relatively happy, industrious people. In this matter Turner speaks as follows: "In a previous chapter I showed how the lands of the Yaquis were taken from them and given to political favorites of the ruler. The lands of the Mayas, of Yucatan, now enslaved by the henequen planters, were taken from them in almost the same manner. The final act of this confiscation was accomplished in the year 1904, when the national government set aside the last of their lands into a Territory, called Quintana Roo. This Territory contained 43,000 square kilometers, or 27,000 square miles. It is larger than the present state of Yucatan by 8,000 square kilometers, and moreover, is the most promising land of the entire peninsula. It was turned over in practical possession to eight Mexican politicians. . . . In like manner, the Mayos of Sonora, the Papagos, the Tomasachics—in fact, practically all the native peoples of Mexico—have been reduced to peonage, if not to slavery."

——————"This is why the typical Mexican farm is a millionaire farm, why it has been so easy for such Americans as William Randolph Hearst, Harrison Gray Otis, E. H. Harriman, the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, and numerous others, each to have obtained possession of millions of

Mexican acres. This is why Secretary of Fomento Molina holds more than fifteen million acres of the soil of Mexico, why ex-Governor Terrazas of Chihuahua, owns 15,000,000 acres of soil of that state, why Finance Minister Limantour, Mrs. Porfirio Diaz, Vice-President Corral, Governor Pimentel of Chiapas, Governor Landa y Escandon of the Federal District, Governor Pablo Escandon of Morelos, Governor Ahumada of Jalisco, Governor Cosio of Querretero, Governor Mercado of Michoacan, Governor Canedo of Sinaloa, Governor Chauantzi of Tlaxcala, and many other members of the Diaz machine are not only millionaires, but millionaires in Mexican real estate."

As to the method, Turner says: "Chief among the methods used in getting the lands away from the people in general, was a land registration law which Diaz fathered. This law permitted any person to go out and claim any land to which the possessor could not prove a recorded title. Since, up to the time the law was enacted, it was not the custom to record titles, this meant all the lands of Mexico. When a man possessed a home which his father had possessed before him, which his grandfather had possessed, which his great-grandfather had possessed, and which had been in the family as far back as history knew, he considered that he owned that home, all of his neighbors considered that he owned it, and all governments up to that of Diaz recognized his right to that home."

It is true that, under the operation of these new laws regarding the registration of properties in land, and the denouncement of non-registered property, thousands of ignorant but industrious Indians were dispossessed. In many cases the land they occupied was taken over in such enormous bulk by the denouncers that whole towns became peons to the new owners. That such things should lead to restlessness, to complaints, and even to hostile outbreaks, was to be expected. Turner continues: "Cases of more recent blood-spillings in the same cause are numerous. Hardly a month passes to-day without there being one or more reports in Mexican papers of disturbances, the result of the confiscation of homes either through the denuncia-

tion method or the excuse of non-payment of taxes. Notable among these was the case of San Andreas, state of Chihuahua, which was exploited by the Mexican press in April, 1909. . . . The state authorities confiscated lands of several scores of farmers, the excuse being that the owners were delinquent in their taxes. The farmers resisted in a body, and two car-loads of troops, hurried to the scene from the capital of the state, promptly cleaned them out, shooting some and chasing half a hundred of them into the mountains. Here they stayed until starved out, when they straggled back, begging for mercy. As they came, they were thrown into jail, men, women and children."

PLANTATION SLAVERY IN YUCATAN

Closely related to this land confiscation, with the resultant beggary brought to thousands, was the drifting of the victims from their old homes to new places where they became actual slaves upon plantations. Dispossessed owners of little properties are inconvenient to have around. They are sure to be discontented; they may be dangerous. Not only so. The conditions of agricultural labor in the hot lands of the Republic presented an opportunity of not only getting rid of this discontented element, but of profiting financially by their removal. Probably that part of Mr. Turner's writings which made the strongest impression upon the readers was this matter. Indians in great numbers were removed, on one pretext or another, from their native land and were transferred to Yucatan and other districts where plantation help was necessary. Such transferred Indians had a definite market price. The business was very profitable. Governors, *jefes politicos,* and political officials, all profited handsomely by the business. The unlucky Indians of course were slaves in fact, though perhaps not slaves in name. A few quotations from Turner will be sufficient: "The masters of Yucatan do not call their systems slavery; they call them enforced service for debt. 'We do not consider that we own our laborers; we consider that they are in debt to us. And we do not consider that we buy and sell them; we consider that we

transfer the debt, and the man goes with the debt.'" The first slave debtors in Yucatan were the Maya Indians of the region. Indians from other districts, however, were imported in great numbers, and among these the favorites were the strong and well built Yaquis from the far northwest.

"The Yaquis are transferred on exactly the same basis as the Mayas—the market price of the slaves—and yet all the people of Yucatan know that the planters pay only sixty-five dollars apiece to the government for each Yaqui. I was offered for four hundred dollars each, Yaquis who had not been in the country a month, and consequently had had no opportunity of rolling up a debt that would account for a difference in price."

——————————"Why do the henequen kings call their system enforced service for debt instead of by the right name? Probably for two reasons—because the system is the outgrowth of a milder system of actual service for debt, and because of the prejudice against the word 'slavery' both among Mexicans and foreigners. Service for debt in a milder form than is found in Yucatan exists all over Mexico, and is called peonage. Under this system political authorities everywhere recognize the right of an employer to take the body of a laborer who is in debt to him and to compel the laborer to work out the debt. If once the employer can compel the laborer to work, he can compel him to work on his own terms, and that means that he can work him on such terms as will never permit the laborer to extricate himself from his debt."

It is to be noticed that, in the above quotations, the government is mentioned as receiving sixty-five dollars each for Yaquis. The excuse for transferring the Yaquis was that they had been at war with the Diaz government. It was asserted that the only way to end their warfare was to transfer them from their homes to other parts of the republic. The Yaqui wars of course were, for the most part, due to the fact that the Indians had been robbed of their lands. Transportation, however, was applied not only to those Indians who had been at war, but to non-resisting peaceful Indians as well.

"These Yaquis," he said, "sell in Yucatan for sixty-five dollars apiece—men, women and children. Who gets the money? Well, ten dollars goes to me for my services, the rest is turned over to the Secretary of War. This, however, is only a drop in the bucket, for I know this to be a fact, that every foot of land, every building, every cow, every burro, everything left behind by the Yaquis when they are carried away by soldiers, is appropriated for the private use of authorities of the state of Sonora."

Not only warring Yaquis and peaceful Yaquis were in danger in northwestern Mexico. Others who were not Yaquis were likely to be seized and transferred to the hot lands where their services were in so great demand. " 'We were one hundred and fifty-three at the start, we of Ures,' went on the old man, 'farm laborers, all of us. We worked for small farmers, poor men, men with no more than half a dozen families each in their employ. One day a government agent visited the neighborhood and ordered the bosses to give an account of all their laborers. The bosses obeyed, but they did not know what it meant, until a few days later when the soldiers came. Then they knew, and they saw ruin coming to us and to them. They begged the officers, saying, "This is my peon. He is a good man. He has been with me for twenty years. I need him for the harvest." ' "

Turner tells us something about the Yaquis after they reach their new home: "In Yucatan I soon learned what became of the Yaqui exiles. They are sent to the henequen plantations as slaves, slaves on almost the same basis as all the hundred thousand Mayas whom I found on the plantations. They are held as chattels, they are bought and sold, they receive no wages, but are fed on beans, potatoes, and on putrid fish. They are beaten, sometimes beaten to death. They are worked from dawn until night in the hot sun beside the Mayas. The men are locked up at night. The women are required to marry Chinamen or Mayas. They are hunted when they run away, and are brought back by the police if they reach a settlement. Families broken up in Sonora, or on the way, are never permitted to reunite. After they once pass into the hands of the planters, the government cares no

more for them, takes no more account of them. The government has received its money, and the fate of the Yaquis is in the hands of the planter."

VALLE NACIONAL

For my own part, while this whole matter of the henequen slaves of Yucatan is hideous, it seems to me less so than the conditions of Valle Nacional. For years I have been hearing the common people of Mexico talk with bated breath of Valle Nacional. The horror of it is that no poor man was safe. It was not only Indians—in fact it was not Indians—but *mestizos* who were drifted thither. I know personally hundreds of well-intentioned, moderately educated, industrious laboring men of Mexico to whom the thought of Valle Nacional is a veritable nightmare. Of it and the unfortunates drifted thither Turner speaks at length. He says: "In Yucatan the Maya slaves die off faster than they are born, and two-thirds of the Yaqui slaves are killed during the first year after their importation into the country. In Valle Nacional all of the slaves, all but a very few—perhaps five per cent—pass back to earth within the space of seven or eight months. This statement is almost unbelievable. I would not have believed it, possibly not even after I had seen the whole process of working them, and beating them, and starving them to death, were it not for the fact that the masters themselves told me that it is true. And there are fifteen thousand of these Valle Nacional slaves—fifteen thousand new ones every year."

——————"The slaves of Valle Nacional are not Indians, as are the slaves of Yucatan. They are Mexicans. Some are skilled artisans, others are artists. The majority of them are common laborers. As a whole, except for their rags, their bruises, their squalor, and their despair, they are a very fair representation of the Mexican people. They are not criminals. Not more than ten per cent were even charged with any crime. The rest of them are peaceful, law-abiding citizens. Yet not one came to the valley of his own free will, not one would not leave the valley on an instant's notice if he or she could get away."

——————"There are just two ways employed to

get them there. They are sent over the road either by a *jefe politico* or by a labor agent working in conjunction with a *jefe politico* or other officials of the government."

——————"The methods employed by the *jefe politico* working alone are very simple. Instead of sending petty prisoners to terms in jail, he sells them into slavery in Valle Nacional. And as he pockets the money himself, he naturally arrests as many persons as he can. This method is followed more or less by the *jefes politicos* of all the leading cities of southern Mexico."

——————"In this partnership of the government and the labor agent, popularly called *'enganchador'* (snarer), the function of the labor agent is to ensnare the laborer, the function of the government to stand behind him, help him, protect him, give him low transportation rates, and free guard service, and finally to take a share of the profits."

——————"I have heard of many cases of the kidnapping of men and women. Hundreds of half-drunken men are picked up about the pulque shops of Mexico City every season, put under lock and key, and later hurried off to Valle Nacional. Children also are regularly kidnapped for the Valle Nacional trade. The official records of Mexico City say that, during the year ending September first, 1908, three hundred and sixty little boys between the ages of six and twelve disappeared from the streets. Some of these were later located in Valle Nacional."

——————"The *jefe politico* of Pachuca has a contract with Candido Fernandez, owner of the tobacco plantation, San Cristobal la Vega, whereby he agrees to deliver five hundred able-bodied laborers a year for fifty pesos each. The *jefe politico* gets special nominal government rates on the railroads, his guards are paid for, so that the four days' trip from Pachuca costs him only three and a half *pesos* per man. This leaves him six and a half *pesos*. From this he must pay something to the governor, Pedro L. Rodriguez and something to the *jefe politico* at Tuxtepec; but even then his profits are large."

We have said that no man was safe unless rich; all kinds of

tradesmen and artisans were in danger. "Yes," exclaimed Antonio Pla, "some of the best artisans in the country came right here—in one way or another. We get carpenters and cabinet makers and upholsterers and everything. Why, on my ranches I have had teachers and actresses and artists, and one time I even had an ex-priest."

——————————"I was a carpenter, and a good one—six years ago. I lived with my brother and sister in Mexico City. My brother was a student—he was only in his teens—my sister attended to the little house that I paid for out of my wages. We were not poor—no, we were happy. Then work in my trade fell slack, and one evening I met a friend who told me of employment he had in Vera Cruz, at three *pesos* a day, a long job."

The business was a profitable one and placed many in a position of luxury. "Señor P. was kind enough to tell us what became of the fifty *pesos* he received for each of his slaves. Five *pesos,* he said, went to Rodolfo Pardo, *jefe politico* of Tuxtepec, ten to Felix Diaz for every slave taken out of Mexico City, and ten to the mayor of the city, or *jefe politico* of the district from whence came the other slaves. 'The fact that I am a brother-in-law of Felix Diaz,' said Señor P., 'as well as a personal friend of the governors of the states of Oaxaca and Vera Cruz, and of the mayors of the cities of the same name, puts me in a position to supply your wants better than any one else. I am prepared to furnish you any number of laborers up to forty thousand a year, men, women and children, and my price is fifty *pesos* each. Children workers last better than adults, and I advise you to use them in preference to others.' "

THE RAILWAY DEAL

An example of the gigantic scale on which the people were taxed that rulers might grow rich is found in the nationalization of the Mexican railways. The idea was given a certain popularity and gained at least a temporary tacit approval from the unfortunate people, by the pretext that it was a patriotic movement for limiting the power of foreign capitalists in the

country. In regard to this Mr. Turner says: "The consolidation under nominal government control of the two principal railroad systems in Mexico, the Mexican Central and the Mexican National, was brought about not, as was officially given out, to provide against the absorption of the Mexican highways by foreign capitalists, but to provide for that very thing. It was a deal between E. H. Harriman, on the one hand, and the government finance camarilla, on the other, the victim in the case being Mexico. It was a sort of deferred sale of the Mexican railroads to Harriman, the members of the camarilla getting as their share of the loot millions and millions of dollars through the juggling of securities and stock in effecting the merger. On the whole, it constitutes perhaps the most colossal single piece of plundering carried out by the organized wreckers of the Mexican nation.

In this deal with Harriman, Limantour, Minister of Finance, was the chief manipulator, and Pablo Macedo, brother of Miguel Macedo, Sub-Secretary of the Department of the Interior, was first lieutenant. As a reward for their part in the deal, Limantour and Macedo are said to have divided nine million dollars' gold profits between them, and Limantour was made president, and Macedo vice-president of the board of directors of the merged roads, which positions they still hold. The other members of the board of directors of the merged roads are: Guillermo de Landa y Escandon, Governor of the Federal District of Mexico; Samuel Morse Felton, former president of the Mexican Central, who was Harriman's special emissary in Mexico to work o Diaz to secure his consent for the deal; E. N. Brown, former vice-president and general manager of the Mexican National Lines, and Gabriel Mancera. Each of these four men is said to have made a personal fortune for himself out of the transaction."

And of course the starving people of the Mexican Republic pay the bills. "The Mexican Central and Mexican National systems are both cheaply built roads; their rolling stock is of very low grade. Their entire joint mileage at the time of the merger was possibly 5,400 miles, and yet, under the merger, they were

capitalized at $615,000,000 gold, or $112,000 per mile. Oceans of water there. The Mexican Central was thirty years old, yet had never paid a penny. The Mexican National was twenty-five years old, yet it had paid less than two per cent. Yet in the over-capitalized merger we find that the company binds itself to pay four and a half per cent on $225,000,000 worth of bonds, and four per cent on $160,000,000 worth of bonds, or $16,525,000 interest a year, and pay it semi-annually." In other words, if Mr. Turner's figures are accurate, the Mexican people are compelled to pay annually in interest on these bonds two *peso* each for every man, woman and child in the Republic.

AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP WITH DIAZ

The last point made by Mr. Turner to which we shall direct attention is the fact that, for many years the United States Government was a partner with Diaz and his *cientificos* in their misrule of Mexico. Our officials, our legal equipment, our army, were at the disposition of the system. Of course the reason was not far to seek. It was the financial interests of Americans in Mexico which led to the easy and complaisant attitude of our government.

WEAK POINTS OF BARBAROUS MEXICO

We have spoken at length in regard to Turner's book because it deserves attention. It was a voice crying in the wilderness. It was the first vigorous appeal from an outsider for justice to a suffering people. While his facts are true, and his motive good, the author makes two serious blunders. First, he fails to realize and emphasize the fact that slavery is no new thing in Mexico. It has existed in the same frightful forms which he describes for more than three hundred years. Since the original settlement of the country, there had been landed estates to be developed, mines to be worked. During all that time, there had been open and flagrant slavery, forced labor, peonage for debt, drifting of unfortunates to places where their lives were worked out in unwholesome surroundings for the benefit of wealthy

masters. There were periods indeed of improvement, there were periods of emphatic and frightful development; but there has never been a time since the old city of Tenochtitlan fell when the fair land has been free of this foul blot. Mr. Turner weakens his argument sadly by not realizing this fact. Second, Porfirio Diaz has been less an active plotter to bring about these evils than one would think from reading the indictment in "Barbarous Mexico." Porfirio Diaz was not the creator and originator of these crying wrongs. He was a man of inordinate ambition, born into certain conditions, which he selfishly utilized to his advantage and the advantage of his friends who helped him gain his aims. He was bad enough from any point of view, but he was the creature of circumstances. Had he been as strong a character as has been usually asserted, and at the same time imbued with a spirit of true patriotism, he might have helped appreciably in an advance movement of reform; even so, he could not have made things over. Had he devoted his lifetime to the effort of solving the very serious problems surrounding him, he could have helped his nation, but could not have inaugurated an actually golden age of justice and perfection.

THE NEW GOSPEL

THE CREELMAN INTERVIEW—LA SUCESION PRESIDENCIAL EN 1910—PERSONAL POLITICS—CONTINUANCE IN POWER—RESULTS OF MILITARISM—THE VICE-PRESIDENCY—QUESTION OF MATERIAL PROGRESS—EFFECTS OF DIAZ' GOVERNMENT—FITNESS OF PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY—MADERO'S PROGRAM.

IT is not often that a reporter's interview for periodical publication becomes an important political document. Such a fate was, however, in store for an interview by James Creelman with President Diaz, which was printed in the March number of Pearson's Magazine for 1908.

THE CREELMAN INTERVIEW

In that interview the President of the Mexican Republic said: "No matter what my friends and supporters say, I retire when my presidential term of office ends, and I shall not serve again. I shall be eighty years old then. I have waited patiently for the day when the people of the Mexican Republic should be prepared to choose and change their government at every election without danger of armed revolution and without injury to the national credit or interference with national progress. I believe that day has come.

"I welcome an opposition party in the Mexican Republic. If it appears, I will regard it as a blessing, not an evil. And if it can develop power, not to exploit, but to govern, I will stand by it, support it, advise it, and forget myself in the successful inauguration of complete democratic government in the country."

This interview became the rallying cry for the opposition which voiced the sentiments of "No reëlection." It precipitated the book of Francisco I. Madero—*La Sucesion Presidencial en 1910;* it unquestionably hastened the revolution.

LA SUCESION PRESIDENCIAL EN 1910

At the beginning of his book, Madero says: "Nevertheless, the problem for the reconquest of our rights presented itself as of most difficult solution, above all, for those who, satisfied as I, with life, shut up in their selfishness and contented with the respecting of their material properties, did not occupy themselves greatly in studying such a problem. This criminal indifference, child of the times, received a rude shock with the events of Monterey on the 22nd of April, 1903.

"Until that epoch I remained almost indifferent to the march of political affairs, and quite so to the political campaign which the people of Nuevo Leon were conducting, when reports reached me of the infamous attack of which the oppositionists, in conducting a pacific demonstration, were victims, which resulted impressive on account of the immense concourse of people, and which had a tragic end due to the ambush into which it fell. This occurrence, witnessed by some of my relatives and friends who took part in the manifestation, impressed me deeply and sadly."

From that time on, Madero was grappling with the problems of politics.

PERSONAL POLITICS

In the beginning of his book, he emphasizes the dangers of personal politics. It is not altogether easy to quote brief passages from his argument. In one place he says, in contrasting the significance of party politics and personal politics, the following: "The probabilities are immense, that a party formed and founded upon principles, has to be as immortal as the principles which it proclaims, though many of its members may succumb; but the principle will never succumb, and always will serve as a guiding light for directing the steps of those who desire to fight for the welfare of the country; it ever will serve as a point of concentration to all noble ambition, to all pure patriotism. The same does not occur with personalist parties,

which tend to disaggregate, if not at the death of their chief, very shortly afterward."

CONTINUANCE IN POWER

In asking how it came about that Diaz so long remained in power, he says: "It will appear that it is a presumption on my part to seem to know more in these matters than General Diaz who, for so many years, has been at the head of the destinies of the country; but I do not in the least hold the conviction that General Diaz has not seen, as clearly as myself, in this affair, in evidence of which there are the declarations which he made to Creelman, and further back, looking to the source of his government, we shall see that, if he took up arms against the governments of Juarez and Lerdo, it was precisely because he judged the indefinite reëlection of governors a threat for democratic institutions; and this will continue to happen unless political parties are now organized; but they must be parties founded upon principles which satisfy the national aspirations, and not personalist parties, like those which actually exist in the republic."

RESULTS OF MILITARISM

In studying the subject of militarism in Mexico, Madero made review of the whole history of the nation to show what serious disasters it had always brought. In the case of Comonfort, he shows how great an error it was for that real leader in democracy to depend upon it. He says: "Comonfort, constitutional president, had the support of the entire nation.

"Comonfort, revolutionist, eight days after his coup d'etat, could not count even upon the aid of those who induced him to commit so great a fault; the forces which pronounced in his favor were the first to turn against him, and he was forced to leave his country to weep in exile the ills which, in a moment of blindness, he had inflicted upon his nation.

"Another example which it is well not to forget: A man like him, so well deserving of the highest honors and the national

gratitude; of admirable prudence and tact; of irreproachable conduct; of a disinterestedness and patriotism for every trial, committing in a moment of blindness, of folly, or of weakness, an irreparable fault! Unhappy those nations whose destinies depend upon the life, will, or caprice, of a single man!"

In the same direction, in speaking of the period when the French forces were being withdrawn from the national territory, he exclaims: "Another example of the tremendous punishment which nations receive that abdicate their liberty; of the peril of leaving power in the hands of a single man!"

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

In a chapter devoted to the subject of General Diaz, his ambitions, his politics, and methods of which he has made use for remaining in power, our author comes to the delicate question of the vice-presidency. He sees only peril in the office. He says: "(The nation) trusted at the disappearance of General Diaz from the political scene, it would recover its rights; but this hope has vanished since the creation of the vice-presidency, which has for its evident object to protect the interests created under the shadow of the present administration, not to permit the people to recover its liberties, to the end of perpetuating in power the group which surrounds our present ruler.

"The nation would be contented for the present to choose the vice-president who undoubtedly will be the successor of General Diaz, because his advanced age makes it very probable that he will not be living in the year 1916, the end of the next presidential period.

"In order to attain even this feeble concession, it appears that the country is resolving to arouse itself from its lethargy; but nations, in awakening, are accustomed to be turbulent, and to us, who aspire to guide public opinion with our writings, the task imposes itself of directing the popular energies through the broad road of democracy, in order to prevent their wandering by the tortuous by-paths of revolts and intestine war."

In another chapter entitled: "Whither does General Diaz lead us?" he speaks specifically of Corral. He says: "On the disappearance of General Diaz from the political scene, Señor Corral, or whoever may be designated in his place to occupy the vice-presidency, will put himself in relation with all the governors, and these will renew the compact celebrated with his predecessor: 'You sustain us in power, and in our turn we will sustain you indefinitely.' Perhaps there might be some governor who would not be in agreement with him. In such a case, he would send emissaries to agitate public opinion in the state, and to organize a party of opposition which, supported by the central government, would be the one which would result triumphant in the elections, promptly assuring a change of governor."

QUESTION OF MATERIAL PROGRESS

In discussing the material progress made under the great dictator, Madero says: "We will only say that it is an error to attribute all our progress to General Diaz, considering that, in the same period of time, many nations of the world have attained a development which surpasses our own, among which we will cite: Japan, France, the United States, Italy, Germany; and among our sisters of the south: Costa Rica, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil."

EFFECT OF DIAZ' GOVERNMENT

Our author considers that the effect of the Diaz Government has been to deaden every legitimate effort. Thus he says: "In summary, absolute power has annihilated the forces of the nation, because the citizens who might lend their assistance to the good progress of the government, have abstained from doing so lest they should appear as discontented individuals. This custom has made them lose all interest in public matters, knowing that they could not remedy the situation."

FITNESS OF PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY

To the constant cry that they are unfit as yet for real democracy, he says: "In fact, their affirmation is easily answered: Admitting for a moment that we are not fit for democracy, in what manner shall be arrive at familiarizing ourselves with its practices, if we are never permitted to practice them? The expression 'democratic practices,' consecrated by custom, implies, besides the theory, the putting of it into action, and as long as this does not happen, as long as nations do not carry into practice democratic ideas, they will never become familiar with them."

MADERO'S PROGRAM

The program which Madero offered is as follows: "From this circumstance it is indispensable to strive with energy, even if certain defeat is to be foreseen because, with the sole fact of struggling in the field of democracy, of competing at the electoral urns, and above all, of having constituted ourselves into a political party, we Independents will have secured the awakening of the country and the Independent Party, although defeated, will have in reality saved the institutions, since with this struggle it will have acquired such prestige that, at the death of General Diaz, it will constitute itself into a constant vigilant censorship upon his successor who, from this motive, must proceed with great moderation, and little by little make concessions to the nation which will gradually force them into frequent electoral contests, since the Independents will not rest, and will promote electoral campaigns in the states, with the end of gradually renewing the town governments, local legislatures, governors, and legislatures of the nation."

The watchword and rallying cry of the whole movement were: "Effective suffrage!" and "No reëlection!"

THE STORY OF THE MADERO REVOLUTION

MADERO'S CAMPAIGN—REËLECTION OF DIAZ AND CORRAL—THREATENING INCIDENTS—THE FIRST BATTLE—REVOLUTION—THE STRUGGLE IN CHIHUAHUA—CHANGE OF GOVERNOR—NEW TACTICS—HOPE IN LIMANTOUR—YIELDING ALONG THE WHOLE LINE—OVERTURES FOR PEACE—BELATED CONCESSIONS—ARMISTICE AND NEGOTIATIONS—THE FALL OF CIUDAD JUAREZ—WILD SCENES—THE RESIGNATION OF DIAZ—THE PEACE TREATY—THE FINAL ACTS.

ON June 26, 1910, the presidential election took place in Mexico. It was interesting because, for the first time in many years, there was actually a candidate in opposition to President Diaz. The candidate of course was Francisco I. Madero, whose claim to popularity rested upon his book, *La Sucesion Presidencial en 1910.* We have already called attention to him and it.

MADERO'S CAMPAIGN

Madero was nominated for the office of President by an actual national convention called by the anti-reëlection societies. The candidate for Vice-President nominated with him was Francisco Vasquez Gomez. Basing their action upon the famous Creelman interview, the candidates attempted to arrange with President Diaz for an actual election in which the people should genuinely cast votes for the man of their choice. Given to understand that they were at liberty to push their cause, Madero made a campaign of propaganda. He visited many states, making speeches and organizing the anti-reëlection movement. At many places difficulties were thrown in his way and at times he was in actual danger of physical attack. Early in June, only a few days before the election was to be held, he was in Monterey in connection with his propaganda. The fact was that he seemed to be making dangerous headway, and it was deemed best to check him. He was arrested on the complaint that he had concealed Roque Estrada, who had been

FRANCISCO I. MADERO.

accused of misdemeanors, in his house. Estrada was Madero's secretary, and his presence in Madero's house was natural and no just subject of complaint. Both men were seized and jailed. The Government, however, seemed to recognize that the complaint made in Monterey was an insufficient basis for vigorous action; it was in reality only an excuse for once getting him within the hands of the authorities. He was therefore transferred to San Luis Potosi, where he was accused of having been guilty of sedition and *lese majesty* in his public speeches. He was finally set at liberty, on heavy bail. While at San Luis Potosi, he matured his plan of revolution and drew up the famous document which bears the name of the *Plan of San Luis Potosi*, in which the purposes and causes of the revolution are set forth. Discovering that it was planned to send him to Puebla, on charges similar to those which had been urged against him in San Luis Potosi, he determined to flee to a place of refuge. It was his custom to take a daily walk along the railroad track. Each day he extended his walk and returned a little later than before; one day he did not return, and the most vigorous efforts to locate him met with no success. Disguised and aided by his sympathizers, he found his way northward to the frontier and entered the United States.

REËLECTION OF DIAZ AND CORRAL

Meantime, the election had taken place, resulting in the continuance of Porfirio Diaz in the office of president, and Ramon Corral in that of vice-president. It was an election of the usual type. There is no doubt that with a fair vote Diaz would have been driven from power, and Madero would have been president. The election, however, took place as usual. Our American press had many a piquant item upon it; it was a capital joke; but, after all, the matter was serious. Closely following the election came the centennial. While the government was celebrating that splendid function, the forces of revolution were gathering. Efforts were first made, however, to settle the difficulties by legal methods. The anti-reëlection clubs sent

in a vigorous protest, with many signatures, to congress, demanding that the elections be set aside as fraudulent, and that a new and honest vote be taken. The effort met with no success. Congress recognized Diaz and Corral as properly elected. The only thing remaining for the dissatisfied was actual rebellion.

THREATENING INCIDENTS

There were many little incidents which foreshadowed the outbreak. The occurrence in the Paseo de la Reforma, at the foot of the Columbus monument, on September 11th, is described elsewhere. That I *saw*. Elsewhere too is described the incident of September 16th, in the State of Tlaxcala. These were during the glorious month of September, when the independence of the nation was being celebrated. They were at a time of profound peace.

THE FIRST BATTLE

It would be easy to multiply instances of such things in the weeks before the serious outbreak began. The first actual incident in the revolution may be considered to be the famous battle at the house of Aquiles Serdan, fully described elsewhere. That happened on the 18th of November.

REVOLUTION

Madero had arranged that on the 20th there should be simultaneous uprising throughout the whole Republic. Two days before that date, he issued a manifesto to the federal army, inviting them to turn against the government and to aid the revolutionary movement. His appeal met with no immediate response, but of course throughout the whole period of actual revolution defections from the army constantly took place; it is the regular story of such movements. There are few armies whose sympathies can be firmly counted upon by a tyrannical government.

The 20th of November came. In the State of Vera Cruz, the working people at Rio Blanco, near Orizaba, rose, but were

easily suppressed; risings took place also in Tlaxcala, Coahuila, and Chihuahua, but these outbreaks were far from as general and serious as had been expected. Everywhere people seemed to hesitate; they were waiting to see just how far those in other places would dare venture before they themselves undertook what many believed to be a desperate venture. On November 26th, in Chihuahua, an attempt was made by the revolutionists to capture Ciudad Guerrero; it was not successful, but the less important town, San Andres, was seized and fortified. The next day a serious conflict took place at Fresno, four leagues from the capital city of Chihuahua. General Navarro, after a four hours' battle, succeeded in dislodging four hundred insurrectos who, at that point, occupied an elevated position. The revolutionists, however, quickly reformed, and two days later were at the gates of Chihuahua. The same day another party captured Chuviscar, eight leagues from the city. Fighting took place also in the district where the states of Coahuila and Durango come together. The rebels captured Gomez Palacio, but withdrew before a force of federals sent from the neighboring town, Torreon.

It is not necessary to give a detailed description of all the little engagements in the different parts of the republic. The northern states of Chihuahua and Coahuila were the centers of the most important operations and the region within which Madero himself operated. It was there that the provisional government had been quartered; it was there, ultimately, that the Diaz Government carried on negotiations with it.

THE STRUGGLE IN CHIHUAHUA

During the month of December progress was made. On the first day of the month Porfirio Diaz took oath for the eighth time before the Congress of the nation to discharge the duties of his office well and faithfully. As the conditions in the State of Chihuahua became complicated, and he saw himself unable to make headway against it, the acting Governor of the state resigned, and President Diaz appointed Alberto Terrazas as

Photograph by Underwood and Underwood

MADERO'S CABINET.

Governor for the time being. This was not a masterstroke. Alberto Terrazas, son of Don Luis Terrazas who for many years was Governor of the state, and who by misrule and oppression had gained the hatred of his people, was not the man to be appointed to the governorship of a state in open revolution. During the month, important engagements took place at Cerro Prieto and Mal Paso. Ciudad Guerrero had been seized by the revolutionists; General Navarro, the leader of the federal forces, attempted its recovery; in the operation Colonel Guzman was trapped at Mal Paso with frightful loss. The hero of the day was Pascual Orozco. The situation was so desperate that new forces under Colonel Cuellar were sent from the City of Mexico on December 22nd to the seat of war. In January Madero's people occupied a considerable area and dominated stretches of the Central and the Northwestern Railroads. General Navarro again attempted to recapture Ciudad Guerrero, arranging that forces should close in upon the city from various sides; to his chagrin, the city was found empty. Vigorous efforts were made to locate and pursue the enemy. General Navarro himself never seemed to find them, but at Galeana, Colonel Rabago, one of the bravest and best of the federal officers, found them, fought, and met a terrible defeat, losing officers and 350 men.

CHANGE OF GOVERNOR

Meantime, Diaz, at Mexico, realized the mistake made in appointing Alberto Terrazas governor of Chihuahua. Terrazas was removed, and Ahumada summoned from Guadalajara; he was hurried to the scene of the disturbance. Much was hoped for from this action. Ahumada was one of the best state governors of Mexico for many years. He was at one time governor of Chihuahua, and had left a good name behind him; he was respected and beloved. He had been sent to Guadalajara because that region had been misgoverned and a good man was needed there. It was hoped that his reappearance at Chihuahua would reduce hostility, arouse enthusiasm, and per-

haps stay the course of the revolution. If ten years before Porfirio Diaz had realized that people genuinely demanded and deserved good governors, perhaps the cry of "effective suffrage" and "no reëlection" would not have been heard until after he had quietly passed from the stage of action. It was, however, too late for even a good governor to save the situation in Chihuahua.

NEW TACTICS

It began to be seen also that Madero's concentration about the city of Chihuahua was more or less a ruse to distract attention from the border. In the effort to save the capital of the state, all possible force had been brought together there and the international boundary was left almost unoccupied by federal forces. The result was that war equipment was constantly crossing from the United States; supplies and ammunition were daily entering from the north—even cannons and rapid-firing guns being brought in. When this was fully recognized, Rabago was ordered to Ciudad Juarez to guard against this constant importation. At Bauche, Rabago had a fight with the forces of Oroczo, suffering some loss. Garcia, Cuellar and Navarro were also transferred to Juarez. It was about this time that the mysterious mobilization of 20,000 American soldiers to the Mexican border took place. Meantime, there had been serious fighting at Casas Grandes. After this, Madero established his headquarters at Rancho de Bustillos, a hundred kilometers northwest of Chihuahua City. With him were Pascual Oroczo, Colonel Garabaldi, Capt. Raoul Madero, and other leaders. At the time of his establishing his headquarters, about a thousand men were at his disposition; this number gradually grew until finally he had three thousand men well equipped and under fair discipline.

It was wonderful how this insurrection spread through the republic. This was true particularly in the south. The movement there was largely undirected. There were no great leaders, no definite plans. But at scores of places, the people, hear-

ing of the events taking place in the north, armed themselves for outbreak. The capital city was absolutely stripped of defenders. The President had no settled plan of action; all advice failed. In desperation, he announced the suspension of the guarantees—in other words, declared martial law throughout the republic. In Mexico it is eternally a sign of weakness. The terms of his proclamation were severe in the extreme. Far from terrifying the people and deterring them from joining in the revolution, the proclamation seemed to add fuel to the conflagration. Thousands, who had no thought of active participation in the disturbance, were driven by this document to unite with the forces fighting against the government. By the middle of April it might be said that every state, from Yucatan and Tabasco up to Sonora and Sinaloa, was in a blaze. Meantime in the north, the Madero forces were closing in upon Ciudad Juarez.

HOPE IN LIMANTOUR

It was pitiful that at this time the old president seemed to feel that Limantour might still save the day. The man to whom the growth of the *cientificos* was due; the man to whom, more than to any other, the unrest of Mexico may be ascribed; the man who, at this crisis, could have the least influence, was Limantour. He was summoned from Paris to Mexico. He seems to have had complete confidence in himself. In New York and Washington his coming was hailed by the money interests and politicians with great satisfaction. Much was expected of him; it merely shows how blind those interests have always been to actual conditions in the Mexican Republic. It was the end of March when he arrived in the capital city. He was given a free hand; his advice was promptly followed; he really knew what would once have been effective. Never, however, in his time of glory, had he suggested the line of procedure he now proposed. Had he done so, the course of affairs might have been different; but of course it was impossible for ***him*** to have done so in those days of prosperity.

Harris and Ewing

EMILIO VASQUEZ GOMEZ.

YIELDING ALONG THE WHOLE LINE

It was due to his advice, undoubtedly, that the six most hated ministers resigned—those of Foreign Relations, Justice, Public Instruction, Government, Fomento and Communications. There is little question that this change in the cabinet was arranged when Limantour was in Washington in consultation with Francisco Leon de la Barra, at that time Ambassador of Mexico to the United States, and with the approval of Vasquez Gomez who, as representative of the revolutionary movement, had his office in the city of Washington. The new cabinet, with de la Barra at its head, and J. Vera Estañol, was a great improvement on the old one, and would once have been a blessing to the people. When the change of cabinet was made, it was understood that new laws were being prepared for submission to congress, which would grant most of the reforms demanded by the revolutionary party. If it was believed that this announcement would lead to relaxed activity on the part of the revolutionary forces, the supposition was false; Madero and his people kept at work.

OVERTURES FOR PEACE

It is true that the relatives of Madero at this time held a consultation with him and made overtures for peace. While this was not announced as being official, there is no question that it was done at the request of the government. Probably his relatives had been informed what concessions the dictator was willing to make to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a final adjustment. Whatever they were authorized to offer, did not meet the needs, and the meeting had no results. It was realized at the capital city that more concessions must be made. Vice-President Corral, therefore, asked for a leave of absence from the country, for a period of eight months on account of broken health. This request on the part of the hated official brought about a vigorous and heated discussion in congress, some of the congressmen demanding that Corral should not ask for a leave of absence, but should present his resignation.

Finally, however, permission was granted him to leave the country, and four days later he left for Europe.

BELATED CONCESSIONS

Immediately after congress had voted permission to Corral to leave the country, the president submitted a law to congress, providing that there should be no reëlection of president or vice-president of the republic, nor of governors of states. This being the chief demand of the revolutionary program, was believed to be a masterstroke of policy; it was intended for conciliation. But the tottering power wished also to suggest that it was still prepared for war, and eight million *pesos* were voted for suppressing the revolution. This was of course intended to scare the revolutionists by showing that the government was not yet at the end of its resources. It is probable, however, that there was no intention of using this money for new military enterprises, but that its appropriation was necessary to meet the heavy costs already assumed in the attempt to suppress the insurrection. About this same time, a law of liberty of the press was proposed to congress.

Such was the solution offered by Limantour. Offered in time, it would have been effective. If in 1909 effective suffrage, no reëlection, liberty of the press, and agrarian reforms had been honestly proposed, and given to the people, Mexico would have been spared a revolution, the centennial would have been a period of popular rejoicing and Limantour and Porfirio Diaz would have made abiding reputations as statesman and ruler.

ARMISTICE AND NEGOTIATIONS

De la Barra in the City of Mexico, and Vasquez Gomez in the United States, were keeping wires hot with telegrams regarding an armistice. One was finally arranged to begin April 22nd, and to continue for five days, affecting only the area extending from Ciudad Juarez to Chihuahua. Two "volunteer" mediators, Oscar Braniff and Toribio Esquivel Obregon, hurried from Mexico, to reason, as private individuals interested patriot-

ically in their country, with Madero. They claimed that they came as private individuals, not as official messengers. Madero consented to receive them. He stated as the prime condition of peace the resignation of President Diaz. Oscar Braniff's indignation at the demand was great. He refused to treat further. Madero remained firm in his demand. It was resignation of the President or war; the resignation need not take place immediately, but an absolute promise must be given, and a date fixed. The volunteer peacemakers returned to Mexico.

On April 28th the armistice ended, but it was prorogued for five days, as the government desired to send an official commission to treat of peace. The commissioner was Francisco S. Carbajal with Oscar Braniff and Toribio Esquivel Obregon as advisers. The revolution was represented in this conference by Vasquez Gomez, Francisco Madero (father of Francisco I. Madero), and Pino Suarez. The negotiations continued through several days, and the armistice had to be extended on May 3d. Negotiations ceased upon the 6th, when they came to a deadlock. Carbajal was ready to discuss everything except the resignation of President Diaz. Madero insisted upon that resignation, but agreed that he would resign from the position of provisional president if Diaz resigned from his presidency. As has been said, negotiations ended on the 6th without agreement. On May 7th President Diaz issued a manifesto to the nation, in which he offered to resign, in the following vague terms: "The President of the Republic will retire from power, when his conscience tells him that his retirement will not deliver the country over to anarchy." It is rather interesting to ask how the country could be in a condition of greater anarchy than at the moment of this manifesto.

THE FALL OF CIUDAD JUAREZ

Meantime, Madero's soldiers were chafing; they were anxious to attack Ciudad Juarez. During the negotiations General Luque, of the federal forces, had attacked Cerro del Mulato, though within the region covered by the armistice. The peace

commissioners of the government, however, and others interested, had begged that hostilities might still be restrained, hoping that new negotiations would be opened, and Madero had consented to the request. A small force of his people, however, had made an attack against the outer defenses of Ciudad Juarez. It is claimed that a flag of truce was raised with the idea of explaining the occurrence, but that there was a misunderstanding in regard to it; however that may be, nothwithstanding the agreement of Madero that hostilities should cease for the time being, the battle was on. Madero himself, realizing that a serious advantage would be lost if he restrained his forces, under the circumstances, gave the order for attack. The battle continued for two days and ended in a victory for the revolutionary forces. On the 10th of May, General Navarro, in command of the government forces in the north, surrendered. In this engagement the federals lost three officers killed, and five wounded; 560 soldiers fell, and the prisoners were General Navarro, twenty-five officers, and 480 soldiers.

The fall of Ciudad Juarez decided the contest. Madero at once formed his government. As President, he was to be assisted by a Cabinet consisting of five officers. Francisco Vasquez Gomez headed the portfolio of Foreign Relations, Gustavo Madero that of Hacienda, Venustiano Carranza that of Guerra, Federico Gonzales Garza that of Gobernacion, and Pino Suarez, Justicia. Upon receiving the news from Juarez, President Diaz sent word to Carbajal to arrange for peace at any price.

WILD SCENES

On the whole, the revolutionary forces in the north had been well held in hand. Few cases of cruelty marred their record of success. Two important incidents, however, deserve mention in this connection. On the 10th of May a three-days' battle began at Torreon. After a brave defense, the federal leader was compelled to evacuate the town. For some reason the revolutionary forces did not at once enter the place. The result was that the vicious and criminal element of the town broke out,

and indulged in hideous deeds of arson, pillage, and murder. For some unknown reason, hostility particularly showed itself against Chinese residents. More than two hundred, some claim three hundred, were massacred. That the incident was not due to general and widespread hostility to foreigners or to Chinese as such is proved by the fact that at no other place was such massacre of Chinese indulged in, although there were plenty of towns in the disturbed area which contained a sprinkling of Chinese population.

At Pachuca, the capital city of Hidalgo, on May 15th, a demand was made by the revolutionary leaders for the surrender of the town. Governor Rodriguez was not only ready to surrender; he gave the order to the leader of his rurales that surrender should be made. Instead of obeying the governor's order, the leader of the *rurales* with his forces proceeded to plunder and loot the city. For some hours they pursued their destructive rioting. The revolutionary forces, when they entered the city, soon put an end to the disturbance, and restored order.

THE RESIGNATION OF DIAZ

On May 17th, at a meeting of the cabinet ministers held at his house, President Diaz agreed that the resignation of himself as President and Vice-President Corral would be presented to Congress "before the last day of the month." When this news was reported to Madero, he telegraphed an inquiry to President Diaz: "It is necessary to know whether the notice of your resignation is certain. I beg that you will answer me directly." The answer was: "I shall resign in the course of the present month. The Licenciado Carbajal will give you the further particulars."

Why was this delay from the 17th until the 31st of May? Who can say? People generally were inclined to think that it was due to the fact that Reyes had been ordered home from Paris and was nearing Mexico. On May 20th he reached Havana, Cuba, on the steamer Ypiranga. Is it possible that

President Diaz hoped even at that late hour to stay the tide of revolution? Is it possible that he hoped that the appearance of General Reyes on Mexican soil would rally supporters to the fallen cause? Reyes was once a popular idol; would his popularity perhaps still save the day? It hardly seems that he could have thought so, but stranger things happened during 1911. However that may be, General Reyes found orders awaiting him in Havana, directing that he wait there until he be requested to come further. These orders seem to have been sent him by Francisco I. Madero. Reyes delayed.

THE PEACE TREATY

On May 21st the treaty of peace was signed. It consisted of four points of agreement: First, the resignation before the end of the month of Porfirio Diaz and Ramon Corral. Second, the Licenciado Francisco L. de la Barra, Secretary of Foreign Relations, will have charge of the executive power during the interim and will order general elections within the terms of the Constitution. Third, the new government will study the conditions of public opinion in order to satisfy them in each state within the constituted order and will grant indemnifications for the damages directly caused by the revolution. Fourth, from this moment hostilities between the government forces and those of the revolution shall cease.

These were the terms of the public treaty of peace. There were also secret understandings arranged regarding the details of the new governmental organization, the state governors, congress, and the attitude of the provincial government toward the revolutionary leaders.

THE FINAL ACT

The day finally set for the resignation of President Diaz was the 24th of May. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon a great crowd of people thronged the House of Deputies to witness the solemn act. To the surprise of every one, Congress proceeded with ordinary business of no importance, as if this

matter of vital consequence were not before it. Tumult ensued, threats of clearing the chamber had to be made, and finally, in order to quiet public clamor, Señor Calero rose and stated that the reason why they were not considering the matter of the resignations was because those documents had not yet been presented to them.

This was too much for the angry mob. Those who had gathered in the House of Deputies in order to witness the solemn ceremony left in serious exasperation. Crowds soon gathered on the streets; the building of the Jockey Club was stoned; store windows were broken; the mob hastened to the house of General Diaz, which was defended by numerous troops. The noise of tumult, however, penetrated to the house. Part of the mob directed its way to the great plaza, and in front of the National Palace, made a demonstration. The police fired upon the crowd. Three gendarmes and nine citizens were killed, and nineteen persons are known to have been seriously wounded. This street demonstration and street killing was simply due to the vacillation and hesitancy of the old man in carrying out his promise to the people.

The following day the disturbances continued on the streets. One killed and three wounded was the net result. The disturbances continued through the morning. In the afternoon the resignations promised were sent to congress, and immediately accepted by that body. With this action quiet ensued.

MAJOR McNAMEE IN CHARGE OF 2,000 MEXICAN FEDERAL REFUGEES.
PRESIDIO. ARMS OF MEXICANS STACKED.

INDIAN MEXICO

MEXICAN INDIANS SUSPICIOUS — SUPERSTITIONS — HOME LIFE OF INDIANS—INDIAN CONSERVATISM—IGNORANCE—TRANSMISSION OF NEWS—THE INDIAN'S DESIRE—MISTAKEN INDIAN POLICY—SEPARATED AND ISOLATED—THE HOPE OF MEXICO.

ONE of the most serious problems left unsolved by Porfirio Diaz was the Mexican Indian. If we consider the total population of the republic to reach the figure of fifteen millions persons, it is likely that six million of these are Indians of pure blood. If we draw a line across Mexico a little north of the capital city, we may quite fairly call the portion lying south of it by the name of Indian Mexico. The *cities* in this area are not Indian, though Oaxaca and some others in the south have a large number of Indians in their population. But outside the cities the population is almost purely such. There are true Indian villages within twenty-five minutes of the Plaza of the capital; there are important Indian towns within an hour's ride by railway train; Aztec may be heard in current use, as the ordinary language, at points within the valley of Mexico itself; troops of Otomi Indians pass through the streets of Mexico almost daily; when celebrating the centennial, it was not necessary to send far for Indians to participate in the historical procession which formed so striking a feature in that splendid pageant. The State of Tlaxcala is almost purely Indian and is one of the most densely populated states of the republic; the State of Oaxaca has been said to have more than 90 per cent of Indian population; there are undoubtedly sections of Mexico where the blood of white men is breeding out and the percentage of Indian blood increasing.

I know the Mexican Indian well. During four years the whole of my free time was devoted to a study of him in his mountain home, in the states of Hidalgo, Vera Cruz, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oaxaca, Chiapas and Yucatan. Thousands

of them have passed through my hands for inspection, measurement and examination. They differ of course from tribe to tribe, from region to region. The Archbishop of Oaxaca once said to me: "Within my diocese there are many different kinds of Indians; there are tall ones and short ones, handsome and ugly ones, stupid and bright ones; they range from black to orange yellow." Yet there are certain characteristics common to all, and one may form a general conception of Mexican Indians which will be for the most part true.

MEXICAN INDIANS SUSPICIOUS

The Indians of Mexico are suspicious. Within their little villages every man knows his neighbor; no man knows outsiders; the stranger is dreaded. There are many towns which object to harboring an outsider for a single night. They cannot understand why anyone should come to them unless he has designs against them. They are afraid of being robbed of land; they suspect new forms of taxation; they fear that they may be forced into military service; they fear lest they be made to labor on distant plantations for foreign owners. These fears are based upon old experience, and on the whole are not without foundation; but beyond this, there is the natural suspicion of outsiders common to peoples living in isolation. Nor is their suspicion limited to white men. Not only are there long-standing feuds between tribes, but there are difficulties often between villages of the same people. Not uncommonly the traveler finds it difficult to secure food and shelter for his Indian servant; the village that may perhaps be willing to supply him with what he needs will absolutely refuse to minister to the necessity of his *mozo*.

SUPERSTITIONS

It is not surprising that the Indians of Southern Mexico are superstitious. Nominally and theoretically all of them are Catholics; many of them, in fact, are devoutly so. They have, however, been sadly neglected. In many Indian villages the

priest comes but one a year (upon the Saint's day), or twice, to say mass, to baptize, to unite in holy matrimony, or to repeat prayers for the dead. There are few villages but have a church, and frequently the church is fine, out of all proportion to the importance of the prosperity of the community. But while Catholics, the Indians are also pagans. Magic and ancient witchcraft still form an important element in their life, for most of the Catholicism is a varnish or veneer over the old idolatry. Archbishop Gillow once showed me a wooden figure, crudely painted, of a rain god which had been taken from the church of Mixistlan. It was found in the church itself at the high altar with the crucifix and figure of the Blessed Virgin. Many of the modern churches occupy the sites of ancient temples, and not infrequently the worship there performed is a worship to the old gods masquerading under a Christian name. The church upon the Pyramid of Cholula replaces a temple of Quetzalcoatl—the Fair God; it is likely that the "church of the thieves" in Huixquilucan of the Otomis, has done the same; they give room for thought. The churches at Guadalupe occupy a site that was sacred to the ancient Aztecs; the mother of God perhaps was forced to make her apparitions at the rock sacred to Tonantzin (mother of gods). For many of the thousands of Indians who gather at those shrines it is certain that the act of worship is the same today as anciently. Were there room, an interesting chapter could be filled with citations of survivals of paganism among the Mexican Indians; and chapters more could be filled with examples of their superstitions and superstitious practices.

HOME LIFE OF INDIANS

The Mexican Indians are not lazy, nor are they cowards. In their mountain homes they cultivate the land and raise sufficient harvests for their annual needs; in many villages they raise coffee and fruits; some towns produce mattings, basketry, pottery, *mantas*, and blankets; in many places they burn charcoal. Some of these products of their industry are meant for export and are carried on human backs over the mountains to a

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MIXTEC INDIAN POTTER, CUQUILA.

market. Bands of Mixes go a hundred miles or more to Oaxaca with heavy burdens of charcoal, coffee, or fruit. It is said that the man, who has carried a hundred or a hundred and fifty pounds upon his back up to the city and having no burden for his homeward journey, will load his carrying-frame with stones and carry them over the weary trails back to his village; perhaps the practice is not altogether foolish. The Mexican Indians are timid and suspicious, but they are not cowards. They are not afraid of death; when they have a leader, they make good soldiers; if equipped, they would defend their village and their land with bravery; to the last man, if they knew they had a nation, they would fight for it most gladly.

The Mexican Indians are very poor. They may, however, be happy. If unoppressed, they gain a living rather easily; they want no more; why should they? In their towns they can produce all that they need; materials for their simple houses are abundant in their immediate locality; food sufficient for the year's needs can be found and cultivated; cotton, and in some localities wool, is at hand, and the women know how to spin and weave. Shelter, food and clothing, all are within reach. What more is necessary? If they have desires for anything beyond, the coffee and the charcoal will procure it. Whether they would be any better or happier if their needs were greater admits of question. Probably if they are to contribute seriously to the upbuilding of a great nation, their desires must be multiplied. As it is, they live close to the margin. A party of a half dozen quartered on an ordinary Indian town in the mountain districts, may be a serious burden; even the traveler who pays for all he uses is no blessing; the man who sells him food for himself and fodder for his horses, is dissatisfied; he knows that he is likely to be forced to buy the same things for his own needs a little later at even higher prices.

INDIAN CONSERVATISM

The Mexican Indians are conservative. Curious differences in this respect are seen. The Mixes on the whole are among

those that have been least affected by outside influence; all of them speak their harsh language and most of them know little or no Spanish. Yet in the matter of dress, they are the least conservative of Mexican Indians. On the other hand, the Zapotecs are largely in the habit of speaking Spanish, although all also use their native tongue; but in the matter of dress they still wear the old *cueitl, huipili,* and *huipilili,* made of material of their own weaving.

IGNORANCE

In many things the Mexican Indian is frightfully ignorant. He is not lacking, for the most part, in intelligence; he knows the necessities for his daily life in his little town; he is well informed in all the village happenings; he can appreciate justice and hate injustice. But his range of thought is very narrow; he often speaks no language but his own; he knows neither to read nor write, may or may not have been to the nearest market-town; he has rarely seen a foreigner and knows nothing of outside lands.

It is doubtful whether he knows the name of the governor of his state or of the president of the republic; both state and republic are very vague, indefinite, ideas for him. Martin Gonzales, for many years governor of the State of Oaxaca, once hesitated to give me a general letter of introduction to all the officials of his state; he said: "You should never go to an Indian town until you have been to the district capital and secured *ordenes* from the *jefe politico;* these Indians do not know me nor my name, but they know their *jefe politico.*" To them their village is the center of the world. It is rare for them to exhibit curiosity regarding the place from which the occasional visitor has come. In order to answer the few who betray curiosity in such matters, it has been my custom to indicate my own provenance indirectly. A Chinantec Indian once asked about my home. He had never seen a railroad train, but knew of it and that it made extraordinary speed. I told him, "To reach my home, you must travel two days on foot over the

trail to Cuicatlan; a train takes you the following day to Puebla; the next day another train carries you to Mexico City where Don Porfirio lives; another train, taken at night, traveling night and day, reaches my city in four nights and three days of constant going." As I spoke, a look of sympathy and pity passed over the old man's face, and shaking his head, he said: "Ah, sir, what a remote and out-of-the-world place you come from." It is probable that most Mexican Indians knew the name of Porfirio Diaz. He had been a fugitive in their own mountains; he had slept in many of their villages; members of their tribes had served in his army and as his body-guard; relatives of many of them had been blown to pieces for disobeying his orders, or causing him trouble. He was undoubtedly the one man widely known among them.

TRANSMISSION OF NEWS

Every one who actually knows Mexico is frequently astonished at the way in which news and information travel. Frequently the peon in the City of Mexico knows the result of a revolutionary battle at a distance as quickly and as perfectly as the authorities who have control of the means of communication. It is little less than marvelous how certain kinds of news travel. An insurrection is no secret, and while the Indian may know nothing of its causes, methods, principles, or leaders, the fact is promptly known.

WHAT HE DESIRES

The one desire of the Indian is to be let alone in his little world. He loves his village and his little patch of land. He cares nothing for the outside world. Content with little, he makes no strife for wealth in our sense of the word, though he can appreciate the kind of comfort recognized among his kind. To be left alone he will pay taxes; he has paid heavy taxes in the past, and is paying heavy taxes in the present; he does not know what they are used for; he looks upon them as a tribute paid for being left alone.

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ZAPOTEC BASKET-MAKER, TLACOLULA.

ZAPOTEC INDIANS, TLACOLULA.

MISTAKEN INDIAN POLICY

Under the grand regime he was sadly treated. It was policy, that he be kept in ignorance. It was easier to deal with Indians in little tribes with local prejudices than to deal with them as millions of citizens of a republic. It is *true* that they knew their *jefe politico*. He was appointed by the Governor and was expected to keep order and turn over the local taxes. As long as he did that, he was considered a good officer and was reasonably secure in his position. He was a brute or worse; his was the iron hand; he not only turned in the taxes which were assessed to him by the state government, but grew rich and fattened from the excess which he ground out of the Indians. In many parts of the republic lands were taken from the unfortunate and ignorant Indians. This was usually done through the operation of new laws of which the poor creatures were completely ignorant or which they could not understand; they knew that the little patches of ground which they and their fathers had cultivated since the days of the Conquest were taken from them and they had no redress; so common were such acts of dispossession that every village lived in constant fear; the appearance of a stranger in the town was often considered to be simply the preliminary of dispossession; the sight of a surveyor's instrument, or of a camera, which many of them thought to be the same thing, caused uneasy feelings. Not only were they dispossessed of their own land, but they were frequently forced against their will, on flimsy pretexts, to work upon plantations for the foreigner. There are places in Chiapas, where large Indian towns have been depopulated, where the *jefe politico,* on some pretext or other, had sold the labor of the town people to American and German coffee, rubber, and hennequin planters. Once in the hands of these employers of labor, foreigners, strangers in blood and speech, exploiters, the unhappy Indians were actually in slavery; theoretically working out a debt or fine, they never succeeded in paying off their obligations and died as they lived on strang-

ers' land. Ignorant, oppressed, dispossessed, enslaved—it is not strange that their natural suspicions were increased and that from time to time they attempted resistance. Hopeless resistance—ignorant, undirected, unled. When such evidences of dissatisfaction and uneasiness appeared, they were promptly and firmly dealt with by the great ruler. Ask the Totonacs, who saw their brothers blown to pieces by cannon about the firm rule of the benevolent dictator.

Yet on the whole Don Porfirio was kindly inclined toward his Indians. He knew them much better than most people do. But it was easier to treat them like children than like men; easier to manage them separated and divided than united. To be sure it was a temporizing method of procedure. It was not the way to develop a real nation. But to produce an actual nation of ambassadorial rank out of such material was a serious problem. Anyway, it looked as if conditions would remain *in statu* until his period was past. And—"After us the deluge."

SEPARATED AND ISOLATED

Separated and isolated, such are the Indians of Mexico. They are separated in language and by it; there are fifteen languages still spoken in the State of Oaxaca; there are thirteen in Chiapas—some of them included in the Oaxaca list; there are others in the State of Guerrero, others in Michoacan. There are not as many as in the days of Cortes—many languages and dialects have disappeared—but there is astonishing diversity in language, and of course this diversity is a bar of separation between the Indians. They are separated in topography and by it. A given tribe occupies a little valley, or builds its villages upon a single mountain crest, or settles on the cultivable patches along a stream; located by natural conditions, their little world is marked out for them, and they cannot, do not, think beyond it. They are separated in ignorance and by it. Knowing nothing of men and things outside of their towns, they fear and suspect all others; superstitions flourish; progress is impossible.

THE HOPE OF MEXICO

Yet most tribes of Mexican Indians have admirable qualities. They are not lazy, but industrious; they have push and energy; though badly nourished, they are strong and enduring; they are persistent and firm—even to stubborness; they are capable of purpose and ideals. It was in a miserable Indian town of Oaxaca that Benito Juarez was born; to him the very existence of Mexico as an independent nation to-day is due. It was in a miserable Aztec town of Guerrero that Ignacio M. Altamirano was born; he was a man of letters and creditably represented his nation in the courts of Spain and France. The Mexican Indian is represented in art by the painter Cabrera, and the sculptor Instolinque. Nor are men of achievement from the Indian ranks so rare that it would be difficult to extend this list respectably. Some of the best qualities of Diaz himself were unquestionably due to his Indian blood; it was not much indeed that flowed in his veins; his father was Spanish and his mother but a quarter blood Mixtec; but his persistence, firmness, and force, his simplicity in life, and his endurance were distinctly Indian traits. The Indian indeed is Mexico's hope. If the nation is to become truly great, it can only be through the elevation and development of its Indian population.

INTERIOR OF ARMORED CAR.

THE HOUSE OF CARDS

WIDESPREAD DISSATISFACTION — PREMONITORY RUMBLINGS — THE STORM BURSTS—AN EYE-WITNESS—RESTRAINT OF THE COMMON PEOPLE—THE FALL.

THERE was a time, within my personal knowledge of the City of Mexico, when any procession caused a delirium of joy; when any spectacle caused gaiety. In 1910 that time was past. During the centennial celebration there were such splendid spectacles as the Mexican people had never seen, yet scarcely a sign of pleasure; thousands thronged to watch the passing show, yet there was no outburst of delight; Porfirio

Diaz, brilliant with royal decorations, and distinguished guests swept by without applause.

WIDESPREAD DISSATISFACTION

Through the month I elbowed my way through the crowds and talked with man, woman and child. It is safe to say I interviewed a thousand persons. I always began with some natural word of praise or commendation; and I never had an appreciative response, not once.

"What a splendid procession!"

"Yes, sir, but what result has it?"

"What a beautiful illumination!"

"Who pays for it, sir?"

"Hurrah! here comes Don Porfirio!"

"He surrounds himself with bad ministers."

"What a magnificent building!"

"Who has grown rich out of it, sir, while the people starve?"

"What a glorious celebration of your independence!"

"Our independence is dead, sir."

But these might be the discontented people of the streets; so I talked with barbers, tailors, printers, doctors, little shopkeepers, reporters, lawyers, government officers, soldiers, and policemen, but it was all the same. No one respected the government of Don Porfirio; and the mention of that detested man, Ramon Corral, or of some of the other ministers, brought out expressions of hatred from this long-suffering, gentle people. At least in the capital city, ninety-five per cent of the people seemed ripe for revolution. There was a floating suggestion that an outbreak might take place on the night of the 14th. I asked about this, and more than one replied: "What! an outbreak on the 14th! with all these foreign guests here, invited to celebrate our independence! oh, no, sir, never! we shall wait; nothing will happen until September is past."

PREMONITORY RUMBLINGS

There were, however, incidents. They were kept out of English papers and the government-subsidized Spanish sheets. One of these was the interesting incident of Sept. 11, on the Paseco de la Reforma, in the shadow of the Columbus monument, elsewhere described. That I *saw*. I did *not* see the fearful thing of Sept. 16, in the State of Tlaxcala, but I heard it talked about on the streets of Puebla and read the notice in the Diario del Hogar, a reliable opposition newspaper. Tlaxcala is a little state, largely Indian; it has long been misruled by Prospero Cahuantzi, himself an Indian, friend of Porfirio Diaz, and one of the worst of the many bad governors of Mexican states. In the villages of Santo Toribio Xicotzingo and Zacatalco, the anti-reëlectionists had asked permission to hold a procession on the 16th, Independence Day. They gathered and carried out their program in Zacatalco and then those of Xicotzingo marched back to the plaza of their village where they were on the point of dispersing; there had been no disorder. A couple of *rurales* rode up and assaulted them, but were repulsed with stones. At that moment fifty cavalry men appeared, and with insulting words, fired upon the party, killing more than a dozen men and women; the others fled to their homes like rabbits.

On Sept. 13, a petition signed by thousands, was presented to the National Congress from the State of Oaxaca. It protested against the seating of Governor Pimentel, who claimed reelection in the election held last June. To sign such a protest in Mexico at that time demanded great courage. Signers of complaints became marked men. Perhaps here they felt strength in numbers. Were not terror the law in Mexico, similar petitions and protests would have been made against Governor Martinez of Puebla, Mercado of Michoacan, Cahuantzi of Tlaxcala, and others—the list is long. In March, 1911, I was conversing with an important Mexican official about bad governors; after I had mentioned a dozen, he added, "—and—and—and—?" None of these men were actually elected by

popular vote. It was long since any one of them had had a legal right to office.

A FIRM GRIP.

THE STORM BURSTS

The storm was gathering. The revolution was organizing. Its war cry was the election of 1910; its mottoes were, "Effective suffrage" and "No reëlection"; its field was a population reduced to desperation by a long administration of injustice. Any leader could have gained a following; any leader of ability

was almost certain of success. At the time when he began the struggle, Madero had neither fame nor record, experience, nor following. His book stated many important principles and carried force, though it was by no means a well-constructed argument; his plan of San Luis Potosi is fairly written, shows little serious thought, and announces nothing really new. He knew nothing of military matters; he was considered, even by his intimate acquaintances, a dreamer, unpractical, almost an imbecile. He had, however, some qualities of leadership. He was honest, after a fashion fearless, persistent, sanguine, and had entire confidence in himself and in his mission. In the preparation for the outbreak, he showed considerable judgment; he succeeded in making a favorable impression upon Americans and in gaining wide sympathy among the warm-hearted people along our southern border.

It had been planned that the rising should be general over the Republic; Nov. 20 had been appointed as the day of outbreak. The Diaz government realized that trouble was brewing, but they underestimated its seriousness. Several days before the 20th, the police of the capital city had discovered some details of the plot. Weapons and ammunition were discovered, in the express offices, declared as agricultural implements, and these had been seized; those to whom they were consigned were arrested and held. On the 18th of November, two days before the date appointed, suspicion led to the searching of the house of Aquiles Serdan in Puebla. The interesting battle which took place there, and which, in a sense, may be considered the first public act of the revolution, has already been described in an earlier chapter. As the day approached, Francisco I. Madero, who had been having his headquarters in San Antonio, Texas, crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico and joined his supporters, ready to lead the insurrection in his own state, Coahuila. The general outbreak of the revolution on the day appointed was disappointing; the demonstrations made were by no means formidable; almost everywhere the plotters seemed to have determined to wait to see what took place in

other places before they risked themselves in an adventure which might prove disastrous.

AN EYEWITNESS

I was so fortunate as to spend the months of January, February, and March, 1911, in Mexico; it was an opportunity to feel a people in the throes of a revolution. One felt that Madero in the field in Northern Mexico was but a part of a great movement. At that time there had been fighting in Chihuahua, Sonora, and Lower California; there had been outbreaks in the States of Yucatan, Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, Puebla, Guerrero, and elsewhere. The revolutionists lacked leaders and unity of plan, but everywhere the people were dissatisfied to the degree that they were ready to sacrifice their lives. No restoration of quiet was possible in Mexico until the demands of the aroused populace should be met. The common people were waking; they were thinking; they were talking. I saw and felt the movement, not on the battle-field, but at the center—the capital city. Daily the intimidated and subsidized press reported federal victories and defeats of the revolutionary forces. But they deceived no one. It was wonderful how quickly and correctly the common people learned the news; they knew details of battles, deaths of leaders, plans of campaign, days before the publication of these facts took place in periodicals.

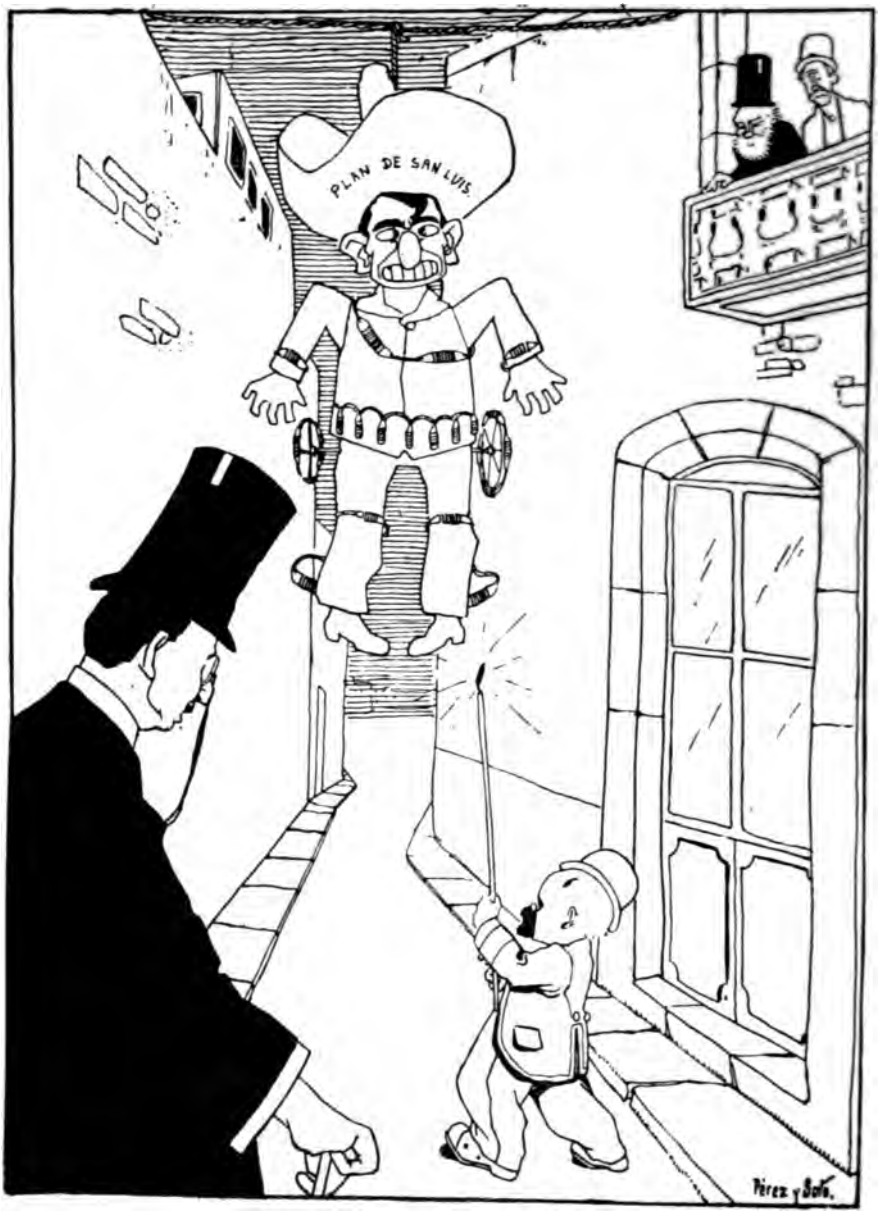
RESTRAINT OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

One of the most striking and interesting features of the situation was the calmness of the people in the city. As the government forces lost ground, and the case began to look desperate, force after force was sent to the points of disturbance. Every one in the great city knew precisely how the forces were being drained off into distant regions. Finally, there was actually no force left in the City of Mexico for its protection. The fact was known to man, woman and child; the beggars, *rateros,* criminals, knew that the city was defenseless. If it had been Chicago, there would have been violence; if New York, destruction of life and property; if London, years would have

been necessary to repair the damages which would have been inflicted; if Paris, the horrors would have been such as to be remembered for generations. But in Mexico there was no disturbance; the starving, vicious, depraved, and criminal, raised no hand, created no disturbance. I was so happy as to see the yielding on the part of the old regime. While I was in Mexico, Porfirio Diaz announced that he had long recognized the need of land reforms and that steps would be taken to divide the great estates when fighting stopped. It is a pity that, as he had long recognized the need, he did not move sooner. He might have given the people a grand thing to celebrate in September, 1910.

THE FALL

While I was there, I had the pleasure of seeing the removal from office of Governors Terrazas of Chihuahua, Aristegui of Yucatan, and Martinez of Puebla. These men were no worse then than they had been for years before. The old president had learned of no new faults in them. Knowing their badness, he had held them in power against the urgent demand of those they governed. During my homeward journey, the cabinet—that cabinet of bad ministers,—resigned—to the public joy. Corral petitioned congress for long leave of absence; a committee in the House of Deputies made a report, advising no reëlection of president, vice-president, or governors. Had President Diaz taken the lead in those reforms a year sooner, what glory might be his! but he delayed and lost the chance of permanent reputation. The revolution triumphed; the house of cards fell in total ruin.



¡Truénalo, manito!

EXPLODING JUDAS: IN HOLY WEEK FIGURES OF JUDAS ARE BURNED. HERE THE PLAN OF SAN LUIS POTOSI IS THE JUDAS. GUSTAVO MADERO ADVISES HIS LITTLE BROTHER TO EXPLODE IT.

FEDERAL SOLDIERS, IN STEEL CARS.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT: DE LA BARRA

DE LA BARRA'S ATTITUDE—A MONGREL CABINET—PROBLEMS PRESSING—THE DISARMING OF REVOLUTIONISTS—BANDITRY—LOCAL OUTBREAKS—DEMANDS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—BREAK BETWEEN MADERO AND VASQUEZ GOMEZ—SOCIALIST REPUBLIC IN LOWER CALIFORNIA—LABOR TROUBLES—TROUBLE IN PUEBLA—ZAPATISM—THE FALL ELECTIONS—REYES AND HIS CAMPAIGN—RESULTS OF THE ELECTION—ATTITUDE OF THE ARMY.

ACCORDING to the terms of the treaty of Ciudad Juarez, arranged between the Madero revolutionaries and the official representatives of the Diaz government, it was understood that de la Barra should occupy the position of provisional president from the time when Porfirio Diaz should leave office until a new election should take place. De la Barra was not an active leader in politics; he was a good diplomat. He had been Ambassador of Mexico to the United States

and was well and favorably known in Washington; at the moment of the success of the Madero revolution, he was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Diaz' cabinet. On account of his having been in Washington, he knew more than almost any other man of the attitude of the United States to Mexican affairs, and had been in touch with the representative of the Madero movement, Emilio Vasquez Gomez, who had headquarters in our capital city. It is doubtful whether a better man could have been selected to take charge of things in Mexico.

DE LA BARRA'S ATTITUDE

He took the oath of office on May 26, a day after the resignation of Diaz was accepted by the National Congress. In taking office he said, among other things, the following: "Stranger to all political ambition and only anxious for the welfare of my country, I shall be, in the post which, for a time, I occupy, a jealous defender of the laws, especially of the electoral laws, in order that the will of the nation may freely manifest itself in the approaching election, to change the federal and local powers.

"The happiest day in my public life will be the one on which, within the shortest time, which the electoral law and the situation through which the country is now passing permit, I shall transmit the power which I have received today to that citizen whom the republic may elect. I shall then return to private life with the tranquillity which duty performed yields, and with the satisfaction of seeing my country again exploiting its riches through the effort of labor, under the protection of peace."

A MONGREL CABINET

By the agreement entered into at Ciudad Juarez, the cabinet of the president was to contain some members who should directly represent the revolutionary movement and protect its interests. Accordingly, in his cabinet, which was promptly organized, Ernesto Madero, uncle of the leader of the revolu-

tion, was made Secretary of the Treasury; Francisco Vasquez Gomez, Minister of Public Instruction; and Emilio Vasquez Gomez, Minister of *Gobernacion.* In addition to this representation in the cabinet, the appointment of Governors in the states of Coahulila and Chihuahua—the states where the chief battles of the revolution had been fought, and where its interests had centered—were given to friends of the leader. The Governor of Coahuila was Venustiano Carranza, the Governor of Chihuahua was Abraham Gonzales, both of whom had been participants in the revolution. It was also understood that, in all important matters, the government was to consult with Francisco I. Madero, whose advice should be given due weight.

PROBLEMS PRESSING

Many and serious problems faced the new government, and any man who could deal with them fairly successfully would demonstrate his ability as ruler. Among the pressing problems were the disarmament of the revolutionary forces, the suppression of banditry, the demands from foreign governments on account of the killing of their nationals, the reimbursement of financial aid privately given to the revolution, the indemnification of losses of Mexican nationals suffered through the revolution, and the aid of states to regain calm and stability.

THE DISARMING OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Naturally the most urgent matter was to disarm the forces of the revolution. In the best of governments, strongly entrenched and in full control, it is a serious matter to deal with an army after a victorious war. There is always danger under such conditions. In the case of Mexico, in 1911, the matter was particularly delicate. Many of the forces of the revolution were undisciplined, discontented, ignorant men; they had taken part in the uprising, and many of them had joined because they wished to give rein to their vicious tendencies, and to enjoy the pleasures of looting and destruction. There were many who had been liberated from jail, and who had been serving

terms justly inflicted for actual crimes. There were many who expected, immediately upon the achievement of victory, to receive lands for their own use and to see the great estates of the past divided.

The plan of disarmament adopted was to invite the soldiers to appear at stated centers and give up their arms to representatives of the government in exchange for sums of money which should depend upon the length of time which they had served and the reputation they had gained in service. The sums ranged from twenty-five to forty *pesos* for each person. It was understood that not all the revolutionary soldiers would be retired to private life—that was largely a matter for them as individuals to determine—but that some would remain as *rurales* in the service of the government with the intention of being used in combatting banditry. The new government promptly set aside 8,000,000 *pesos* from the treasury reserve for the purpose of this disarmament. It was soon found that serious problems arose. Many of the worst class of the revolutionary soldiers, released from prison and supplied with arms, saw nothing attractive in the idea of returning to calm and peaceful honest lives. They preferred to become bandits and continue a career of plunder and destruction. Many who had been prisoners feared that, if they appeared with arms to receive their payments, their old crimes would be remembered, and they would again be thrown into jail. Many honest patriots willingly came in, surrendered arms, and received their payments; many others, less patriotic, failed to do so. It was realized that, all over the republic, banditry was on the increase, and that thousands of desperate individuals were at large.

BANDITRY

Not only were such individuals a menace; there were whole bands of forces who had taken part in the revolution who refused to give up arms and preferred to remain as organized

bodies in open banditry. The most notable of these bands of recalcitrants was headed by Emiliano Zapata, in Morelos.

LOCAL OUTBREAKS

With the iron hand of the old regime lifted, and with so many difficulties facing the interim government, there were new outbreaks of trouble in many parts of the republic. Most of these stood in no actual relation to the past revolution; they were local troubles with the local leaders and frequently representing long-standing feuds. Thus, in Sinaloa, there were outbreaks. The Yaqui Indians threatened trouble. In Chiapas the so-called war of castes broke out, with all the horrors of a trouble of its kind. These are but a few, though perhaps the most significant, of such local outbreaks, which had largely to be overlooked by the temporary government in Mexico.

DEMANDS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Serious demands were being pressed by three foreign governments on account of the murder of nationals. At Torreon, when the Madero forces seized the city, two hundred or more Chinese were massacred. Naturally the Chinese government made strong representations to the new government in the matter. In the state of Puebla, there was a cotton factory with the name of *La Covadonga*. Many of its employes were Spaniards. There has always been a hostile feeling on the part of the poorer and less reputable of Mexicans against people of Spanish blood. A band of bandits, belonging to Zapata's group, attacked this factory, and as the Spanish employees attempted to defend it against attack, a battle took place in which a number of Spaniards were killed; the Zapatists entered the factory and looted it completely. They killed a number of the workers and frightfully mutilated them. Inflamed by the savagery already practiced, they went from the factory to some houses near by, where German families lived, the men of which were in the employ of the Covadonga Company. These Germans had in no way opposed the attack of the bandits, nor

engaged in defending the factory; notwithstanding this, the bandits entered the houses, ravished the women and killed all, both men and women. These outrages by Zapata's bandits had aroused the governments of Germany and Spain, who were pressing the interim government for settlement.

BREAK BETWEEN MADERO AND VASQUEZ GOMEZ

The Madero revolution was fought in support of the Plan of San Luis Potosi. When peace was finally arranged, there were many things in the treaty which were not in harmony with the details of the plan. Thus, the plan had promised an immediate change of all employees, everyone connected with the Diaz government being hurled from office; it was impossible, however, in accordance with the terms of the agreement made at Juarez, to carry out this promise. The Plan of San Luis Potosi had pledged that a legal judgment should be secured regarding the acts of the past administration, and that the officials of Diaz would be held to strict responsibility for maladministration; the terms of peace arranged provided for no such judgment. The plan promised that the great landed properties of Mexico would be divided into parcels, and that little properties would be assigned to individuals; it was recognized now that such a thing was quite impossible.

Naturally, the failure to keep the promises made in the plan upon which the revolution was based led to wide criticism and dissatisfaction. There were many of the prominent aids of Madero who were offended. Among these was Emilio Vasquez Gomez. He had been, according to many, "the brains of the Madero revolution." He was now the minister of the most important department in de la Barra's government. He was totally opposed to the present state of affairs. He insisted on the literal fulfillment of the Plan of San Luis Potosi. He was in favor, if need be, of renewing the revolution in order that the literal promises might be fulfilled. Between him and Madero there grew up strong hostility.

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RAILWAY TERMINAL AT TAMPICO

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC IN LOWER CALIFORNIA

A serious difficulty arose in Lower California. Two brothers, Flores Magon, had long been agitating against conditions in Mexico. They had criticized the old Diaz regime. Refugees in the United States, they had made Los Angeles headquarters, and had conducted a paper named *Regeneracion.* Through it they had aroused considerable hostility toward the great dictator. They had been implicated in the movement of 1806 against the Diaz power. At times they had been persecuted by our Government in accordance with the suggestions of the Diaz administration. At one time the editor of *Regeneracion* had been imprisoned, and an agitation in his behalf was waged by some Americans, and on account of petitions in his favor he was released. During the revolution, the Flores Magon had been somewhat active. Now that the revolution was past, it was discovered that they were interested in a plan to set up a socialistic republic in Lower California. The peninsula of Lower California is, and will be, a considerable problem for Mexico. It is a part of the national territory, but it is separated by water from the rest of the republic and is connected with only an artificial boundary line with the United States. It is a desert—rock, stone, sagebrush and cactus. It has a scant population and only one or two settlements of any consequence. In the Mexican Republic it forms, not a state, but a territory, with its capital at the little city of La Paz. There is no question that the peninsula has wealth and that it may some time develop into importance. More than once it has been seriously suggested that we should in some way acquire it, if not by purchase, by filibuster. The establishment of a socialistic republic under dissatisfied Mexicans in Lower California was a far more serious threat to the integrity of national territory than might at first have appeared.

The Flores Magon socialism was pronounced doctrine. The existence of social classes was immoral. Wealth should be equally divided; the necessities of life should be within the

reach of all, and equally; there should be no masters, no employees. In this time of public distraction, the moment seemed favorable for the setting up of the new experiment. An invasion of the peninsula was made, and the settlers already there were driven from their homes, and ruin and destruction were unchecked. The forces at the disposition of the Flores Magon were undisciplined, and among them were many foreigners, largely Americans. Recognizing the seriousness of the situation, de la Barra sent federal forces into the peninsula, and on June 22nd, at Tijuana, near the line of the United States, an actual battle took place in which the soldiers were led by an American named Mosby. It was really a battle, and a number of dead and wounded were left upon the field. The federal forces gained the day, and the refugees fled to the United States, where they were held by the American troops. Before the battle, the socialistic republic had appealed to the United States to have a protectorate established by our country.

LABOR TROUBLES

The administration of de la Barra was marked by a veritable epidemic of labor strikes. It began with a serious strike by the employees of the electric company of the capital city. This is an enterprise under foreign management, employing hundreds of men in electric railways and lighting plants. The employees struck for shorter hours and higher pay; their cause was just, and popular sympathy was strongly with them; the strike continued through several days and, before it ended, the mob, not the workmen, became violent; attacks were made upon the electric cars, stones were thrown, damage done; finally the police were obliged to take vigorous action, and the crowd was fired on. Some eighteen or twenty persons were wounded, some were killed. This strike was followed by many others—paper-makers, bakers, seamstresses, matchmakers, one after another went on a strike. All of them made demonstrations; day by day the streets were occupied by processions; the workers demanded work, better pay, shorter hours; there was an army of

unemployed. The government, to prevent acts of lawlessness, decided to undertake public works in order that all who wanted employment might find an opportunity. Thousands of people were thus employed, and the serious situation relieved.

TROUBLE IN PUEBLA

It was natural to expect that those who had been in power would be loath to relinquish it. In many states, cities, and municipalities the old leaders tried to maintain themselves in positions of importance under the new regime. This was certain to lead to many and serious difficulties. In places where the revolution had been hailed as likely to bring about a release from petty tyranny, it was hard to see the old conditions perpetuated. It was true also that, in many places, strong feeling had arisen between the federal forces and the soldiers of the revolution. It was to be expected that, at times, quarrels would arise between these forces. Such difficulties actually took place in many places. The most serious of them were those at Jalapa, Guadalajara, and Puebla. The latter is of special interest. In July there were considerable numbers of revolutionary soldiers in that city; at night, on the twelfth of that month, a carriage containing several persons, drove past the quarters in which these soldiers were lodged, and as it passed, several shots were discharged at the building. The Maderists, thinking that these shots had been fired at them by federal soldiers, got up, swarmed upon the roofs of the quarters, and rushed out into the streets, firing at their supposed attackers. The soldiers of the federal force repelled the attack, and then in turn assaulted the building which served the Maderists as headquarters, and a frightful butchery took place which continued for many hours and which finally forced the revolutionary soldiers, who had scant means of defense, to leave the city and take refuge on the hill of San Juan. As soon as de la Barra was informed of the occurrence, he issued orders to the federal forces that they should not pursue the revolutionary soldiers, nor fire upon them unless they themselves were again attacked. At the same

time he did everything in his power to calm the excitement of the Maderist soldiers. Francisco I. Madero himself, it is said, hurried to the scene to quiet conditions. It is believed that the original shots fired at the *cuartel*, in which the Maderists were lodged, were fired by the sons of the ex-governor, Mucio P. Martinez.

ZAPATISM

Throughout the period of the interim government serious acts of banditry were being practiced under the leadership of Emiliano Zapata. Repeated efforts were made to disarm his forces, but without result. The whole matter of Zapatism, however, is too important to be treated as subordinate, and will be taken up in another chapter.

THE FALL ELECTIONS

As the time of the election neared, intense interest arose. There had been serious difficulty within the anti-reëlection ranks. Francisco I. Madero had organized a new party under the title of *Partido Constitucional Progresista*. His former friend and adviser, Emilio Vasquez Gomez, headed the liberal anti-reëlectionists who adhered literally to the Plan of San Luis Potosi. Very quietly, so much so that it may almost be said secretly, there had grown up also a new party under the name of *Partido Catolico Nacional*. It was the re-entering of the Church into active politics. While composed of a conservative element, and numbering many excellent adherents, the appearance of this party, based on religious lines, contains a threat of serious danger for the future of the Republic. There were other lesser parties, but these three were those that figured conspicuously.

Of course Francisco I. Madero was the chief presidential candidate. E. Vasquez Gomez was running independently, being supported by the liberal anti-reëlection element. Notwithstanding the pledges he gave on his return to Mexico, Gen. Bernardo Reyes had entered the political arena and announced himself as

candidate for the high office. It was, however, fully realized that the only serious candidate for president was Madero. It was far different with the office of vice-president. Here there was a real question. The original plan of the successful revolution was to place before the public a ticket on which Madero should be candidate for president and Francisco Vasquez Gomez for vice-president. The difficulties which had arisen, however, between Madero and the brother of his running mate, led to the desire on the part of the revolutionary hero to have another candidate associated with him. Through his influence, Jose Maria Pino Suarez was the candidate recommended by the constitutional progressive party. Two other candidates were in the field—F. Iglesias Calderon and Alfredo Robles Dominguez. The Catholic national party also was firmly backing de la Barra as candidate for vice-president. He repeatedly refused to accept the nomination, but they persisted in their efforts. Before election time, Iglesias Calderon and Robles Dominguez had dropped out, leaving the contest to be fought between Francisco Vasquez Gomez and Pino Suarez.

REYES AND HIS CAMPAIGN

General Reyes had been conducting his campaign with some activity. On September 3rd, a manifestation had been organized by his partisans in honor of his candidacy. As the procession was passing through the streets, the crowd showed signs of anger. When General Reyes himself appeared to address his people, the popular fury broke loose, and an attack was made which forced the candidate to seek refuge in a neighboring house. Appearing upon a balcony, he attempted to address the crowd for the purpose of calming it, but had scarcely begun his speech, when cries of disapproval drowned his voice and stones were thrown. The police were obliged to interfere in the disturbance. As soon as President de la Barra heard of the occurrence, he expressed to General Reyes his regret at what had happened, and stated his desire to fully protect him in all his rights, even to the extent of calling out the public force if

necessary. A few days before the primary election, General Reyes and Vasquez Gomez demanded that the election should be postponed until a later date. Madero, who was at the moment in Yucatan, telegraphed to congress, urging that no postponement be permitted. He claimed, and undoubtedly with justice, that nothing could be gained by prolonging the period of uncertainty, and that, the sooner a legally conducted election took place, the better for the country and for the bringing about of permanent peace.

About this time, General Reyes left the country, and from Vera Cruz sent telegrams to the leaders of his party and to President de la Barra. In that to the latter, he stated that he was leaving in order to avoid the vexations and bitter discussions being forced upon him by the Maderists, since the government had not known, or cared to give sufficient guarantees either to himself or to his partisans. To this querulous complaint, de la Barra made a dignified response, sending his telegram to General Reyes at Havana, Cuba. In it he stated that he was certain that the government conduct had not influenced him to the action he had taken, since it had furnished him all proper guarantees; that proper investigation had been made to discover the persons guilty of the manifestations made against him; that steps had been taken for his protection; that intervention had been personally made by himself to prevent difficulties of all kinds. It was quite generally suspected, as proved to be the case, that General Reyes was plotting a new revolution, and that he absented himself from the country in order to make preparations for it.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

The election set for October first, took place as planned. It passed off with little or no disturbance. One hundred and twenty thousand votes were cast in the City of Mexico—something which never before had happened. On the whole, it was undoubtedly the nearest approach to what could be called a fair election that Mexico had ever seen. It was not a direct vote

for the candidates, but for electors. When, later on, the electors on November 2nd, cast their ballots, the results were as follows:

Francisco I. Madero	19,997
Francisco L. de la Barra	87
Emilio Vasquez Gomez	16
Scattering	45

As will be seen, more than ninety-nine per cent of the total votes case were for President Madero.

The vote for vice-president was as follows:

Jose Maria Pino Suarez	10,245
Francisco L. de la Barra	5,564
Francisco Vasquez Gomez	3,373
F. Iglesias Calderon	173
Scattering	51

It will be seen that Pino Suarez received a little more than the total of all the votes cast for other candidates.

ATTITUDE OF THE ARMY

It will be appreciated that there was a certain danger from the army after the Madero revolution. It had been defeated in the field; its sympathies had been entirely with the old regime; it would look naturally with suspicion and dislike upon the victorious leader. During the interim presidency, de la Barra was careful to conciliate it and its leaders. Several times on public occasions he had taken pains to compliment and praise it. On one occasion, when the generals and other officers of the army gave a banquet, in his honor, in the speech he made them, he said: "Gentlemen: With the profoundest emotion and with the sincerest expression of my thanks, for the high honor which I have received, I ask you to raise your cups for our fatherland, each day more loved, and for the army, each day more worthy of our respect, of our affection, of our admiration; for the national army, which ever waits with splendid serenity, the moment of test, which is for it the moment of glory, as the

mould waits for the melted bronze, which immortalizes, transmitting to future generations, the grand, the beautiful, and the good." On a later occasion, when he was leaving his position as president interim, he spoke to the army as follows: "I shall carry with me," he said to them, "many sorrows, many bitter memories, and disappointments; but I shall also carry a deep satisfaction, and that is that the loyal, honorable, and valiant army is the strongest guarantee for governments legally constituted. The absolute confidence which the executive reposed in the army, was responded to by it with the completest and most honorable loyalty." It was surely wise for the president interim to adopt this kindly, appreciative, and conciliatory attitude to the military forces of the government. It must, however, be remembered that there were actually no causes of ill feeling between the army and de la Barra. He had not been connected with the revolution; he represented the old regime; he in himself aroused a sentiment of sympathy as the last surviving representative of the conditions that had ended.

De la Barra was in power from May 26th to November 7th, a period of about five months and a half. When he came to power it is claimed that there was a reserve of 60,400,000 pesos in the national treasury; when he left office, this reserve had diminished to 48,000,000 pesos. This was to be expected. The country was passing through a difficult and trying period of readjustment. Many claims demanded settlement. Many difficulties, calling for large expenditures presented themselves.

On the whole, de la Barra's administration was a remarkable achievement. It was a difficult position which he had to fill. It was impossible for him to have a definite policy to be developed; the period of time within which he had to operate was brief. In the nature of things, it was impossible for him to deal with things with a free hand. Every act of importance was subject to advice, revision, interference by Madero, and unquestionably there were many occasions when the forbearance of both men was seriously tested. That he left office with general respect was greatly to his credit.

MAYOR OF JUAREZ, READING MADERO'S DECLARATION, FEBRUARY, 1912.

FRANCISCO I. MADERO

UNDER THE NEW REGIME—A CHANCE FOR OPTIMISM—THE COMPLAINTS AGAINST MADERO—COUNTER-REVOLUTION — OROZCO—REYES—VASQUEZ GOMEZ—FELIX DIAZ—ZAPATA—THE PRESIDENT'S CONFIDENCE.

PERSONAL business took me to the City of Mexico in December, 1912. At that time Francisco I. Madero had been in power something over a year. It was possible to judge both his honesty and his ability as the chief official of the country. He was much in evidence. He appeared in public on every possible occasion. The first time that I saw him, he opened a congress of scientific workers brought together from all parts of the Republic. His address on that occasion was commonplace. A small man, with nothing of the presence or dignity which marked Porfirio Diaz, dressed in a common busi-

ness suit, with a harsh and unpleasant voice and a quick nervous manner, the impression he produced was not entirely agreeable. One could feel that he was a man in earnest, that he meant well, that he desired to do his duty—but one also felt that he was consciously and intentionally posing. Rarely does a man give so much the impression that he is thinking that he is the cynosure of all eyes, the center around which all revolves.

UNDER THE REGIME

Conditions in the city were certainly unlike anything before seen in a generation. The streets were everywhere torn up; there was the appearance of improvements begun; nowhere was there evidence of improvements carried through to the end. Nothing seemed settled; the impression given was that more was undertaken than could possibly be completed. Disorder prevailed.

Every day during my stay I bought and read nine daily papers. Only two of them were favorable to the government. The rest were hostile in various degrees, and the frankness and virulence of their hostility was unprecedented in Mexico. During the twenty years almost in which I had been visiting the country I had seen nothing like it. The President was mentioned in abusive terms; he was accused of every undesirable quality; his acts were criticised with bitterness; what he did was wrong; his sins of non-commission were even worse. The opposition press was almost unanimous, in its insistent demand that he withdraw from office; this demand was reiterated from day to day; some journals, indeed, presented an alternative and demanded that, if he did not himself resign, he should force withdrawal from office upon his brother, Gustavo Madero, and the Vice-President, Pino Suarez.

The meetings of Congress were lively. Never before, perhaps, in the history of the Republic had they been the scene of such disorder. Members spoke out freely. They had ideas and voiced them. Naturally there were two groups in Congress—those who upheld the government, and those who assailed it.

But within both groups there was division, and every man was ready to set forth his own ideas. Members called each other names, indulged in personalities, came to personal contests. The galleries had to be cleared and threats were made of closure. The opposition was outspoken in its criticism, Madero was accused of breaking all his promises, of indulging in flagrant nepotism, of stealing from the Nation, of driving the Republic into bankruptcy, of plotting and preparing for a new, continued, dictatorship.

A CHANCE FOR OPTIMISM

Many of my friends, residents of Mexico for years, shook their heads doubtfully and longed for the old days of Porfirio Diaz. For my part, conditions seemed to me encouraging. The opposition press was virulent, unjust, brutal; but an opposition press is necessary in any democracy. No doubt it went to an extreme, and, as unbridled, became a danger. Perhaps a curb was necessary, and a new law was pending at the time regarding the liberty of the press, a law, by the way, which was not without bad features. Such a condition as then existed would have been impossible at any time during the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. Never, for many years, had the press dared to speak as it now spoke; had Diaz still been in power, the situation would have demanded the jailing of a score of editors and writers. As for Congress, every one knows what it had been for many years. No laws were passed except those which emanated from the government; bills were prepared and submitted for unanimous approval; in those days there was no calling of abusive names, no quarreling, no personal attacks, no fighting; all was calm and peaceful with the calmness of stagnation and the peacefulness of death; sometimes the deputies did not even take the trouble to go to the meeting hall; from their homes they telephoned their votes approving the governmental measures. Remembering the old conditions, these new ones were encouraging. They might contain an element of danger, but they were wholesome signs.

THE COMPLAINTS AGAINST MADERO

There were no doubt causes for complaint, just causes. Among the criticisms of the President, which were heard on every hand, were such as these:

JOSE MARIA PINO SUAREZ.

First: He had not destroyed the old regime, root and branch. He had promised to do so. When the time came to carry out

his promise, he found it difficult and inexpedient. It was not altogether easy to fill all offices with new men, responsible and competent. More than that, when he was once in power, he found himself necessarily in contact with many men before in office who, by toadying or readjustment, seemed to harmonize with the plans and to be ready to carry out his principles. Great numbers of unfit representatives of the old power remained in office or had a word in the direction of affairs. To the more radical of his followers this was unsatisfactory.

Second: He had not kept his promises in reference to a complete investigation and overhauling of the financial affairs of the old administration. In the Plan of San Luis Potosi he had definitely promised that, as soon as the revolution triumphed, commissions of investigation would be formed for determining the responsibilities which the functionaries of the confederacy, the cities, and municipalities had incurred. Once in power, that promise was entirely forgotten and no serious effort was made to fix responsibility or to recover damages.

Third: In the same famous document Madero had said: "by taking advantage of the law of public uncultivated lands numerous small proprietors, for the most part indigenes, have been despoiled of their property, either by the approval of the Secretary of Fomento or by decisions of the tribunals of the Republic. It being the part of justice to restore to their ancient possessors the lands of which they had been despoiled in a mode so arbitrary, such dispossessions and judgments are declared to be subject to revision, and it will be demanded of those who have acquired them in a mode so immoral, or from their heirs, that they should restore them to their primitive owners, to whom also they will pay an indemnity for the losses suffered. Only in the case where such lands have passed to a third party before the promulgation of this plan, the ancient proprietors will receive indemnification from those in whose benefit the spoliation took place." This was one of the powerful influences which had helped him in his revolution. The fact that he had promised to the dispossessed the return of their little prop-

erties had been a mighty factor in his favor. It was easy for the leader of a revolution to make such promises. It was difficult for a man at the head of the government to keep them.

Fourth: It is probable that the election of Madero was honest; it was more nearly a genuine election than Mexico had known for many years. But if his own election was honest, the same could not be said for that of the Vice-President, Pino Suarez. To secure the election of his friend and helper in the revolution, Madero lent himself to the same unscrupulous methods of which he had complained so bitterly under the old regime.

Fifth: One of the chief complaints against Porfirio Diaz was that he held unfit, unpopular, and wicked men in office, simply because they were devoted to his personal interests or could be depended upon, on account of their own interests, to support him at every cost. No one had more loudly complained of this condition than Madero. Yet once in power, he forced unpopular officials upon the public simply because they were his friends or relatives. Pino Suarez had no claim to be made Governor of Yucatan, a post of special difficulty and delicacy; nor was he the man for Vice-President of the Republic. Nor was it wise to use his own personal family largely in official life. A brother and an uncle in the Cabinet was too large a representation. Ernesto, his uncle, was a man of considerable ability, and perhaps fitted for the office under another president. Gustavo Madero was a dangerous man; he had no ideals; he was shrewd and interested only in gaining wealth and power. It is probable that he despised Francisco's theories and had contempt for his ideals. Anyway, he was a bad adviser and a malign influence. He and Pino Suarez were bosom friends, and together did much to change the policies of the president and to prevent his carrying out his pledges.

Sixth: Money had been squandered; the treasury was empty; the nation faced bankruptcy. Worse, the Secretary of the Treasury, Ernesto Madero, was arbitrary in his rendering of accounts. He claimed the right to disburse large sums of money

without a statement as to the purpose of expenditure. The money which the faimly claimed to have expended in the conduct of the revolution had been reimbursed. The very respectable sum of 700,000 *pesos* was entered as a single item without a word as to its destination. Here indeed was opportunity for suspicion, and it was claimed by many that this large sum was the return of loans from American interests, who had advanced aid to the revolution.

Seventh: Under the influence of Gustavo Madero and Pino Suarez, it was claimed that the idealist, the democrat, was tending toward an autocracy as arbitrary as that of the old dictator.

Eighth: Doubt was felt as to the sincerity of Madero in the matter of reëlection. Whether he still held the principle or not, it is doubtful whether Gustavo looked forward to retirement to private life when the period for which President Madero had been elected should terminate. This doubt was increased by the fact that the president had already broken pledges made in the Plan of San Luis Potosi. If he had not destroyed the old regime, if he had not investigated their financial record, if he had not taken steps to restore the properties to the little dispossessed land-owners, what reason was there to believe that he would hold to the motto of his revolution—effective suffrage and no reëlection?

These were but a part of the just causes of complaint so violently urged in the opposition press and on the floors of Congress. They and all others practically reduce themselves to three general objections or criticisms. Madero had made promises which had not been kept. He had retained Huerta and Blanquet and many others of the old regime in power against his pledge and against the advice of his more prudent counsellors. With insistency he held Pino Suarez and Gustavo in position against the violent hostility of the thinking people of the country.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

At that time President Madero had faced almost constant revolution from the hour of accession to power. To most peo-

ple these outbreaks seem purposeless, without significance. Five of them had taken place. Each had a perfectly distinct character and cause.

OROZCO

Orozco was a muleteer—an *arriero*—in the mining region of Chihuahua; he was a man of little education and no experience; he had given no special attention to politics or public questions. Personal and petty spite seems to have led him to join Madero's revolution. He became one of Madero's chief lieutenants—was named a general. Even during the progress of the revolution he and his leader had squabbles. Shortly after the Diaz downfall, Orozco again entered the scene as a revolutionary leader. His significance was simple; there was no question as to whence his backing came. The wealthy interests which, in Chihuahua and in northern Mexico generally, fattened under General Diaz —the Creel-Terrazas and American mining interests backed him. It was the attempt of the old power to return.

REYES

When Bernardo Reyes failed to make a showing at the election by which Madero became president, he began to plot against the new regime. Some believed that he retained something of his old prestige and popularity; he took himself seriously and thought he could count upon the army and an independent following; his revolution, launched Nov. 16, came to a miserable end at Christmas. His attempt represented little; in so far as it represented anything, it was the effort of the *cientificos* to regain position.

VASQUEZ GOMEZ

On Feb. 1, 1912, Emilio Vasquez Gomez launched his revolution at El Paso, Texas. Embittered against his one-time friend and leader, he demanded Madero's renunciation and announced himself provisional president. He expected the aid of Orozco who, however, failed him, and his attempt was a complete fiasco.

FELIX DIAZ

On Oct. 16, in the city of Vera Cruz, Felix Diaz launched a revolution. He had been a general in the federal army, but his commission had been resigned. With pride he announced that he had captured that important city without the firing of a gun; he proclaimed that what the nation needed was an immediate and permanent peace. He named himself provisional president of the Republic and announced that, as soon as victory was secured, he would order a new election and give way to a constitutional ruler. Nine days later, on Oct. 25, his revolution ended disastrously, and General Diaz was himself a prisoner in the hands of the government forces. He was tried by a court-marshal, sentenced to be shot, and escaped only through the personal intervention of President Madero. He was in prison for a time in San Juan Ulua, but was transferred to the city prison in Mexico.

ZAPATA

Most picturesque, and indeed most mysterious, of the revolutionary leaders with whom Madero had to deal was the red-handed Zapata. He is a bandit, without education, training, or position. Personal difficulties with petty local officials made him a leader of a band; he may have had good reason for his bitterness. He aided Madero's effort. When the revolution ended, he was called upon—as were the other revolutionary leaders—to disarm his men and send them home. He named the sum necessary for the purpose, and it was sent him by the provisional government; he accepted it, but did not disband his forces. A second time he was appealed to; a second time he set his price, received his money, and remained with his men in open banditry. Curiously enough, the performance was repeated a third time, but Zapata still remained in the field with his wild soldiers, looting and destroying. His escapes were so curious, his deeds of daring and his abstinence from actually attacking the capital city so strange that many people believe

that Madero did not wish Zapata to disarm his bandits, but secretly maintained them in the belief that he might need their assistance.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONFIDENCE

The last day of my visit I had an interview with President Madero. He received us in a corridor at the castle of Chapultapec. A small table with some documents upon it was placed before his chair. He was dressed in a simple business suit and wore a cap which he removed and placed upon the table as he received us. He spoke English well, but always loudly, rapidly, and with oratorical effect, as if addressing a multitude of people. I told him that I had read his book upon the presidential succession with interest, and asked whether his views were still the same as when he wrote it. He replied that, for the most part, he still held the same views; but he did not feel that his people were as competent to take an active part in the government as he had thought. After talking over various matters of policy, among them the new law regarding the freedom of the press, I asked the President whether he expected to finish his term of office, or whether he would withdraw. He replied that he expected to complete his term. I remarked, "But, Mr. President, there will be great difficulties in the way of your doing so; there are many thousands who demand your retirement." With much earnestness he answered: "Sir, I have met difficulties before now, many of them; I must expect to meet great difficulties in the future; but I shall surely serve my term of office through."

HELD UP TO RIDICULE

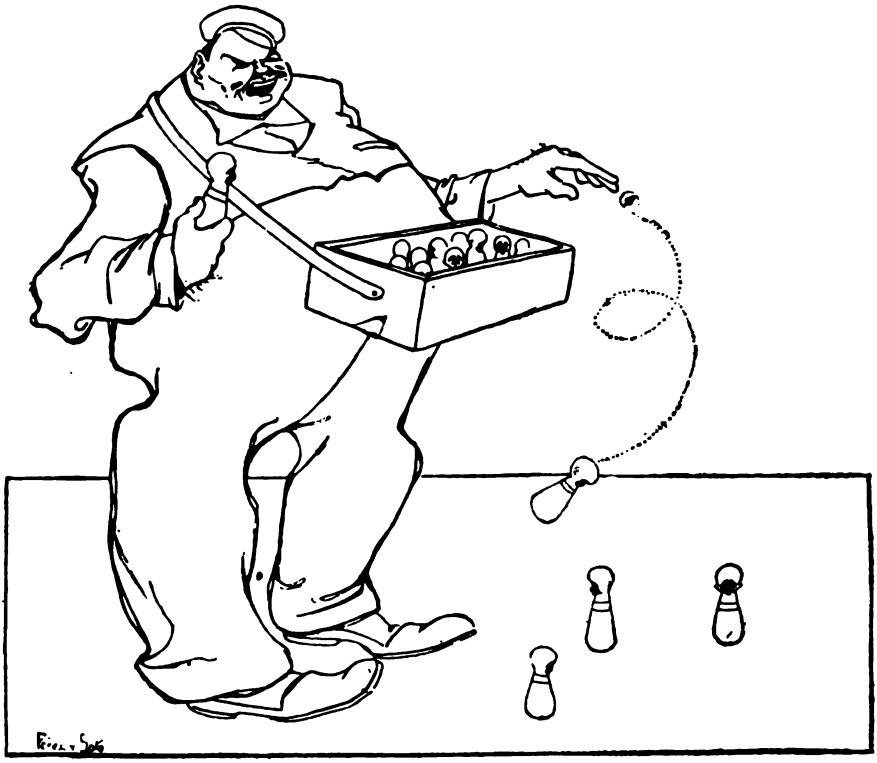
HE FALLS UPRIGHT—WITH HUERTA—WAREHOUSED GOODS—COPYING—THE EMPTY CHEST—A DESPERATE MEASURE—THREATENING VOLCANOES—A USELESS PINE—BREAKING THE PIÑATA.

A SIMPLE picture often conveys thought more than an elaborate discussion. A good cartoon is better than an epigram. McCutcheon speaks more forcibly and to a greater audience than Keely. Sometimes one gains a clearer idea of a political crisis by studying the caricatures of the day than by reading the political arguments. The Mexicans are quick to learn through cartoons. Throughout the history of the nation at every time of crisis the cartoon has been used with great effect. In Madero's case it proved exceptionally effective. While in the press he was mentioned and referred to in the most insulting terms, in the cartoons he was treated with keen and terrible ridicule. In writing he was called the "orang," the "imbecile," the "pygmy," the "neurotic"—(he was actually an epileptic); in the pictures he was represented as a pygmy, a child at play. In the beginning indeed he was represented as an ordinary man, but as time went on, the picture of him was that of a smaller and smaller, insignificant, being. Among the cartoons which told the story of his administration were many which appeared in *Multicolor*. It is worth examining some of them.

HE FALLS UPRIGHT

In one a street vendor with tumbling toys is represented. He is a common sight in Mexico. As he walks along the street, he throws little weighted figures which he has for sale on the sidewalk, where they immediately right themselves as they fall. In the cartoon such a vendor is shown throwing figures upon the pavement; the legend below says, "He who always falls upright." The little figures bear Madero's face. It is

true that Madero was often lucky; he many times fell right-side-up; the common people had a sort of superstition in the matter. As he said himself, "I have met many difficulties, sir." He felt certain that he would emerge from many more. It was the credulity or superstition of the epileptic.



—¡El que siempre cae paradito!
HE FALLS UPRIGHT.

WITH HUERTA

A gigantic soldier is represented, his shirt-flap marked "V. H." (Victoriano Huerta), and a little man grasping his sword. At the time Huerta, operating against the bandits in rebellion, was constantly reporting brilliant governmental victories.

Estamos triunfando ¿no?

WITH HUERTA.

Sometimes no doubt he was gaining them. In the picture the little man is represented as saying, "We are triumphing, are we not?" Even at this time the childlike dependence upon the military leader was commented on. But the meaning of the cartoon is to emphasize the insignificance of the nominal power as contrasted with the actual.

WAREHOUSED GOODS

One of the saddest, because the truest, of the cartoons is entitled *En la bodega*—In the warehouse. The little man and an employee are in a storeroom where sacks of stuff are heaped

—¿Y estas mercancías?
—Estas mercancías son las que no se han podido realizar

WAREHOUSED GOODS.

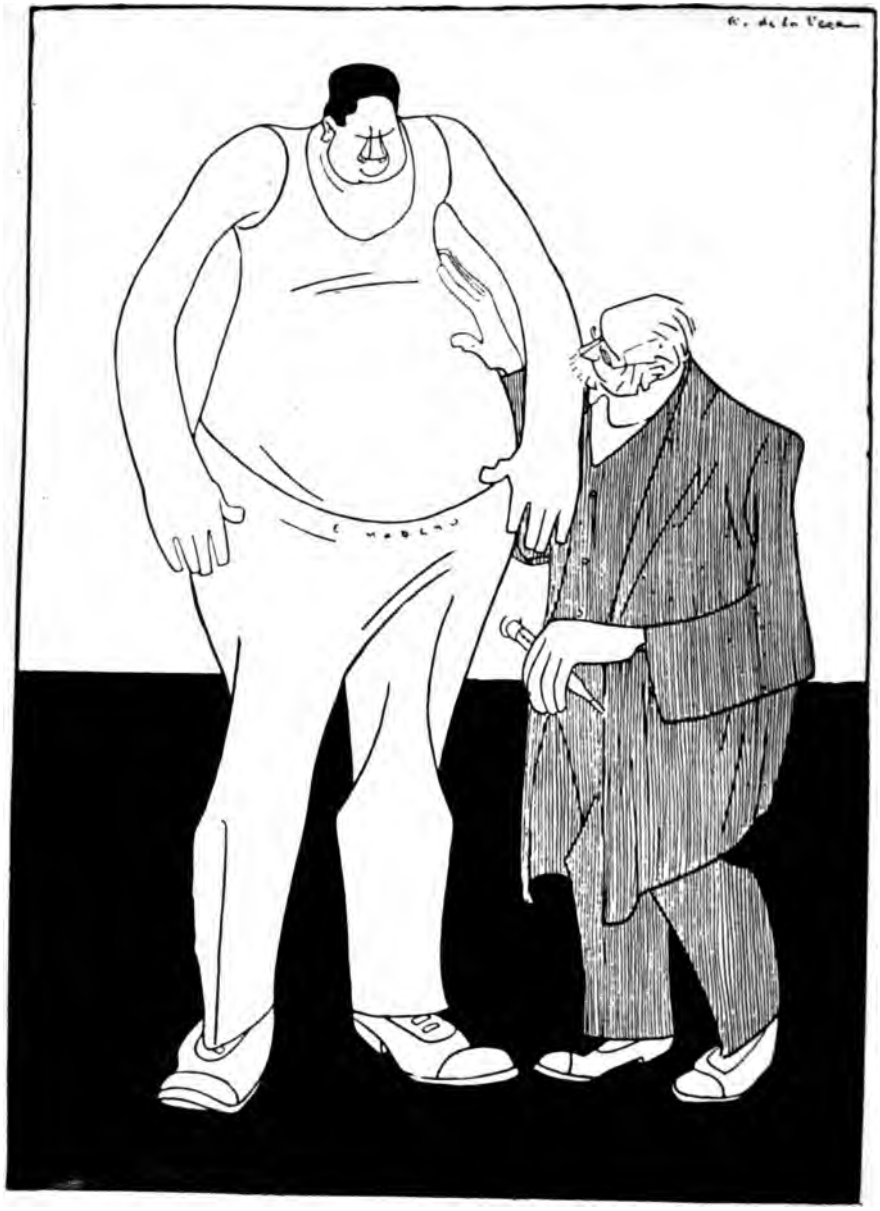
up in great quantities. He inquires of the employee, "How about these goods?" The answer is, "These goods are what we have not been able to dispose of." But the goods which had not been disposed of, with which nothing had been done, and which were left heaped up in the warehouse, were marked, "Individual guarantees," "Responsibilities of officials," "Redistribution of lands," "Effective suffrage," "Independence of governmental powers" (Executive, Judicial, Legislative), and "Liberty of the Press." These were goods which Madero had failed to deliver. The complaint was bitter that he had not kept his promises.

COPYING

Madero was always complaining of the Diaz methods. The dictator's cruel and illegal assumptions of power were the constant theme of his complaints. Yet once in power, he used the hated and discredited dictatorial methods. In the cartoon a teacher, looking down upon the Little Boy Blue drawing a picture, inquires, "What are you doing, boy?" The little boy answers, "I am copying." The picture he is copying is a portrait of Porfirio Diaz, set up before him.

THE EMPTY CHEST

Another cartoon labeled *Auscultando,* deals not with the President, but with Ernesto Madero, Secretary of the Treasury and uncle of the President. It represents a doctor making a physical examination of that personage. Feeling the hollowing curves of the arm-pits of his patient, he asks: "What is the matter here in the curves?" The patient answers: "Nothing, absolutely nothing." This needs a few words of explanation. "*Que tiene ud*" may be translated "What is the matter?" but it also means "What have you?" "Las arcas" means "the cavities of the body under the ribs," but it also means "chest," "coffer," "vaults." So the innocent question of the doctor, "What is the matter here in your chest?" and his patient's reply become, "What have you in the treasury?" "Nothin



EL DOCTOR.—¡Qué tiene usted en las arcas!
DON ERNESTO.—Nada, absolutamente nada.

THE EMPTY CHEST.

¡Mírate en ese espejo!

A DESPERATE MEASURE.

absolutely nothing." The picture has reference to the rapid depletion of the treasury under Don Ernesto's control.

A DESPERATE MEASURE

As difficulties had gathered around him, President Madero felt himself driven to "suspend the constitutional guarantees." This is a measure which always indicates a desperate condition; it should be resorted to only when all other procedures are impossible. I was in Mexico when Porfirio Diaz announced the suspension of the constitutional guarantees, and well remember the prodigious effect produced upon the minds of all. Within the next few hours, thousands who before had been non-partisan, openly adopted the cause of the insurrection. In a cartoon bearing the title, *Enseñaza*—instruction, teaching—the artist represented a little man accompanied by an aged teacher. They are looking into a mirror in which is reflected the dim figure of Porfirio Diaz. Upon the frames of the mirror are the legends, "He suspended the guarantees in the month of April. He fell from power in the month of May." This was prophetic.

THREATENING VOLCANOES

The topography of the valley of Mexico is utilized to teach its lesson under the title of *Geologia*—geology. A cartoon presents a little hill upon which a pygmy sits; surrounding it are larger hills from each of which a face looks out; below is the legend: "The hill of the grasshopper (Chapultepec) is a hill of rock surrounded by dangerous volcanoes." Chapultepec (Aztec, meaning "the hill of the grasshopper") rises from the level valley of Mexico which is bordered round about by a circle of mountains. The dangerous surroundings of the President were his cabinet members, some of them plotters against him, others heavy burdens on account of their unpopularity. A dangerous outbreak might be expected at any time on account of any one of them.

El Chapulín" es un carrito de para piedra, rodeado de volcanes peligrosos.

THREATENING VOLCANOES.

A USELESS PINE

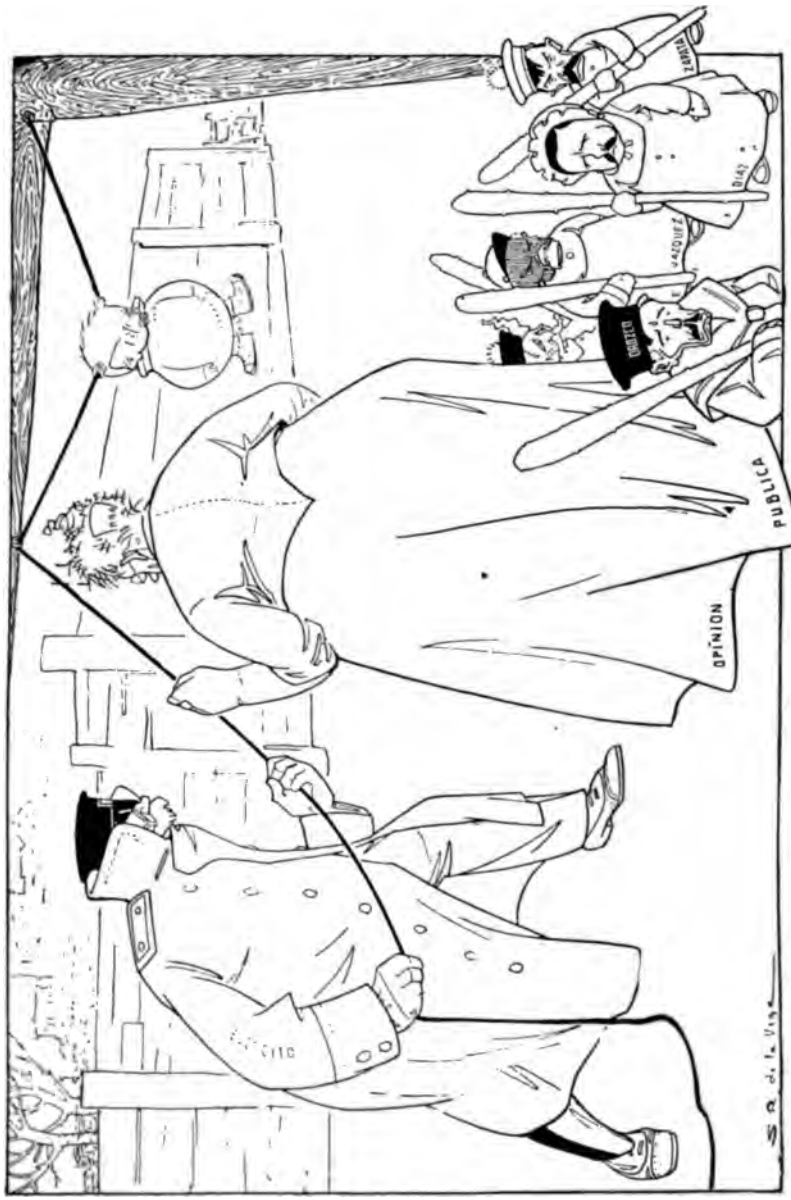
A little gardener is represented holding a small pine-tree in his hand. He asks of his employer, "Where shall I put this pine-tree?" The employer answers, "Set it out in the street." The play here is on the word *pino*. This means pine-tree, but the *pino* here intended is Pino Suarez. The demand on the part of President Madero's employer—the Mexican people—was loud and vigorous to throw the unpopular Vice-President overboard.

El jardinero.—¿Dónde planto el pino?
El patrón.—Plántelo Vd. en la calle.

A USELESS PINE.

BREAKING THE PIÑATA

The last of these pictures to which we shall call attention is entitled *Piñata politica*—the political piñata. At Christmas time the Mexicans have the custom of suspending a jar, full



La señora—(al militar) ¡Si le sigue U.d. levantando, se habra quito la ropa!

THE POLITICAL PIÑATA.

of nuts, candies, and fruits, at a good height, in the *patio* of their house or in their social room. Such a jar is called a piñata and is usually concealed by paper trimmings so as to look like a human figure, a flower, a boat, or other fancied forms; the guests—mostly children or young people—assemble and are supplied with sticks; blindfolded, they try to strike the piñata, breaking it and scattering the contents on the floor, where they are scrambled after by the guests. Of course the piñata must not be swung so high as to be out of reach. In the picture a piñata is being swung; the lady of the house, who represents the people, is directing the raising of the piñata by a soldier policemen (Huerta), and says to him, "If you keep on raising it, no one will be able to break it." Five children with clubs are waiting their chance to hit at the piñata which has been raised almost beyond reach. The woman is public opinion, the soldier policeman, the army, represented in General Huerta, its head; the piñata is Madero; the children with clubs are the leaders of the five revolutions—Orozco, Reyes, Zapata, Vasquez Gomez, and Felix Diaz. Public Opinion warns Huerta that he should be careful; that, if he too skilfully protected the President, none of the revolutions could hope to break his power.

The very essence of cartoons is criticism and partisanship. Both are shown undoubtedly in those which he have described. Still, every cartoon must appeal to commonly recognized facts, or to ideas the force of which is generally admitted. There is more instruction in regard to the mistakes of Madero to be drawn from an inspection of these pictures than from a long drawn argument.

PASCUAL OROZCO

RELATIONS BETWEEN MADERO AND OROZCO—LACK OF DISCIPLINE; MUTINY—A POPULAR HERO—SEED OF DISCORD—POLITICAL AMBITION—THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION—HUERTA IN THE FIELD—OROZCO REAPPEARS.

THE revolutionary struggle in Mexico brought many new and unknown men into prominence. Among them few have gained more notoriety than Pascual Orozco. He had been a simple *arriero* in the state of Chihuahua, bringing in metal and ore from the mining districts for shipment. He joined Madero's movement on Oct. 15, 1910, when he sought Abraham Gonzales, at that time active in organizing the interests of the threatening revolution. It does not seem that the new recruit was impelled by any deep seated principles of politics, nor by enmity toward President Diaz; the true motives

LACK OF DISCIPLINE; MUTINY

While at times he showed bravery in the field and gained considerable reputation as a soldier and a leader, Orozco was badly disciplined. There was often difference of opinion between himself and Madero, and it is claimed that on May 13, during the period when terms of peace were being considered, he led a mutiny. This was widely reported at the time in the newspapers. Exactly what took place has been disputed. The report published in the El Paso Herald is as follows: "Lack of funds, and practically lack of food, determined Orozco and his companions to rebel, discontented with the manner in which Madero, the provisional president, had conducted himself after the bitter battle of Juarez, naming ministers with whom, they say, he consulted political questions, by preference to his military chiefs, and for his evident neglect of all the actual necessities of his troops. At about 9:30 this morning Pascual Orozco brought together 100 of his soldiers, all well armed and mounted, and directed himself to the headquarters of the provisional president. There he demanded of Madero money for his men, who had not been paid, and food for their empty stomachs. Madero was not able to satisfy the demand. He explained that it would be impossible at that moment, but that afterward some arrangement would be made for meeting the necessities of the people. Orozco replied that the insurrectos had suffered for much time, and that Madero and his ministers had shown themselves incompetent. After this he declared Madero arrested. Outside, the soldiers of Orozco were drawn up in line, waiting with anxiety the result of the interview between Orozco and the provisional president. Madero went to the door, and begged the soldiers to aid him in that crisis, explaining as he had done without result to Orozco, that their needs would be attended to within brief space of time; but his requests were not listened to. 'Viva Orozco!' was the cry which issued from the files of soldiers, and Madero returned to his office, followed by his general. The discussion continued.

Orozco demanded the immediate deposition of the whole cabinet of Madero, saying with contempt that the ministers were incompetent, and demanded that in the future Madero should give more attention to the immediate necessities of his soldiers. Madero submitted to these demands, he and his general embraced each other, and the incipient rebellion concluded with the understanding that the cabinet should cease to exist and that the troops should be better cared for in the future." How much of this story of mutiny is true is uncertain, but that Orozco was treacherous and unreliable does not admit of question. During the time that the peace commissioners sent by the Diaz government treated with Madero, Orozco repeatedly went to them privately and discussed the condition of affairs, especially with Toribio Esquivel Obregon.

A POPULAR HERO

With the success of the revolution and the return of Pascual Orozco to Chihuahua, he became a popular hero. He who had been nothing, was now treated with the utmost distinction. "All the world acclaimed him; they waited breathless to hear him speak, even a word."

The favorite pictures of the popular leader at this time represented him as a very common looking, low grade mestizo. Dr. Ramon Puente, who wrote a book about Pascual Orozco, but who greatly disliked him, describes his personal appearance as follows: "Orozco revealed clearly more than country rusticity, the wild instincts and savage passions of the criminal. His physiognomy has the features which betray the qualities inclined, and sensitive, to crime. His lower jaw broad and heavy, the enormous mouth, with thin lips; the large face, with broad cheek bones; the discolored skin; the scant beard; the broad, straight nose; the projecting ears; and lastly, the cold and repellant glance, shot forth from faded blue eyes, showed in him an aggregation of anthropological signs extremely common in the criminal man, to such a degree as to arouse in one's conception of him the impression of a mattoid."

SEED OF DISCORD

During the interim presidency of de la Barra, Pascual Orozco remained in Chihuahua, petted and adulated by those whose interests he might be able to serve. When the break came between Madero and Vasquez Gomez, it was commonly believed that Orozco was wavering in loyalty and inclined to become Vasquista. It is said that when Madero was making a campaign through Chihuahua in favor of the candidacy of Pino Suarez for Vice-President the following incident occurred: Madero was addressing a large group of hearers from a balcony. At his right was Governor Abraham Gonzales, and at his left Pascual Orozco. The audience heard the leader with great approbation until he came to speak of the question of the vice-presidency. "He began by attacking Vasquez Gomez, intentionally exaggerating his defects and the tendencies of his policies, in order that the virtues of his own candidate might be more evident." The enthusiasm immediately disappeared. All looked to see what impression would be produced upon Orozco by the attacks upon Vasquez Gomez. Orozco showed no sign of feeling. When, however, the name of Pino Suarez was mentioned, the speaker was interrupted by a frightful outcry mingled with shrill whistlings and hisses. Madero did not lose serenity, but cried, "Ah, well, then, hiss me also." "No, no," thundered the multitude. "Then listen to me," he replied. The crowd was silenced, and he continued the eulogies of Pino Suarez, which, however, did not convince them. The author from whom this incident is quoted, believes that with this incident Madero lost his last hold upon Orozco.

POLITICAL AMBITION

When Orozco went to the capital city to arrange for the disarming of his forces, he was received with the same enthusiasm as in his own state capital. On that occasion, it is said that he was paid 50,000 *pesos* for his services. He was not satisfied with the amount, and demanded that it should be

doubled. This was refused by Madero, and the two parted in bad humor with each other. Orozco was put in charge of the rural military zone of Chihuahua. This, too, did not suit him. He had expected a larger recognition of his merits; he had expected to be made at least the governor of his state. Naturally he looked with disfavor upon Abraham Gonzales, who was appointed provisional governor, until elections should take place. When the elections neared, Pascual Orozco entered the field as a rival candidate against Don Abraham. He was defeated, and Gonzales was elected constitutional governor. Unfortunately he was soon after summoned to Mexico to accept a seat in President Madero's cabinet. He was made Minister of Gobernacion, at the time unquestionably the most important position in the body. To the disgust of Orozco, Aureliano Gonzales was made governor interim during the absence of the actual governor. This man was certainly not adapted to the position. He soon found difficulties rising and had a rupture with his secretary of state, Braulio Hernandez. Hernandez at once announced himself a partisan of Vasquez Gomez and resigned the position. Meantime the wealthy interests, which had been encouraged by Diaz, and were committed to his cause, had in every way attempted to develop hostility in Orozco against the new government. These interests, of course, were the Creel-Terrazas faction. Playing upon his vanity, avarice, and jealousy, they inflamed him to revolt. In January Orozco was publicly complaining against the Madero government.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

He made four points: The Plan of San Luis Potosi had not been carried out, Madero had entered into league with the *cientificos,* the family of the president was practicing enormous abuses with the public treasury, duties of patriotism drove him to hostility. Matters were so threatening that Governor Gonzales was hurried back to his capital city to resume charge of the state government. Difficulties were thrown in his

way and he made a ridiculous figure before he succeeded in regaining his city. Once there, and again in power, he was treated with contempt by Orozco and his followers. The Orozco movement having been supplied with funds to the amount of 1,200,000 *pesos* by its wealthy backers, Orozco openly took the field in revolt against the government. The whole of Chihuahua was soon in open rebellion, outbreaks taking place in Ciudad Juarez, Casas Grandes and elsewhere.

It is unnecessary to go into complete detail regarding this revolution of Orozco. It dragged on for months. Orozco himself assumed great importance. He was in communication with various disaffected groups in different parts of the republic. For a time he seemed committed to the cause of Vasquez Gomez; he was flirting with the various groups of hostiles in the City of Mexico, to see where it was best worth while to throw his aid; he even opened up communication with Zapata. He took steps to gain the recognition of the government of the United States. Finally an important body of troops was sent against him from the City of Mexico under the leadership of General Gonzales Salas. Associated with him were such well known officers as Generals Tellez, Trucy Aubert, Blanquet, and Martinez. They hurried to the city of Torreon, near which an important battle finally took place. It was badly managed. General Salas divided his forces, sending them to points the roads to which were badly known to him. The most serious combat took place in the Cañon de Rellano. It ended in a serious defeat of the federal forces. The general-in-chief committed suicide; the chief-of-staff, a lieutenant colonel and several prominent officers were killed; General Blanquet was wounded; Trucy Aubert was lost sight of, and for a time it was feared that he had met disaster; Tellez, with difficulty, succeeded in drawing his troops back to safety. The report of this disaster produced consternation in the capital. The hero, by the way, who gained the victory, was not Orozco, but Emilio Campa.

HUERTA IN THE FIELD

General Huerta was hurried to the field as commander-in-chief of the federal army. He laid out a careful plan of advance, providing for every contingency. It was carried through with complete success. It was at this juncture that Emilio Vasquez Gomez proclaimed himself president interim of the republic. Although he had been considered a supporter of Vasquez Gomez, Orozco took exception to his proclamation and demanded that he should withdraw it. It is possible that he was looking forward to proclaiming himself president; whatever may have been his idea, he succeeded in terrifying the unlucky Vasquez Gomez, who realized that without Orozco's aid he was nothing, and at once withdrew to San Antonio, Texas. Immediately after this incident there took place the battle of Conejos; Orozco lost it, and withdrew to Rellano—the site of the former great victory. Huerta advanced and a second battle took place at Rellano; again discipline and training counted for something, and the federal forces gained the day. Orozco fell back to Bachimba. The revolutionary leader undoubtedly realized that he had no hope of winning the final battle. He prepared Chihuahua for the news of his defeat, had prisoners removed from the capital city to Casas Grandes and awaited the final test of strength. It came at Bachimba and resulted in a complete victory for Huerta's army. With this battle the actual revolution in the north came to an end. Huerta and his victorious forces went on to the capital city of Chihuahua. Abraham Gonzales, who had been forced to leave the governor's chair, had been in hiding. It was popularly believed that he had sought a refuge with Villa. Between this popular leader in Madero's revolution and Orozco, there was deep-seated hostility. When Orozco was plotting revolution against Madero, Villa was still in the state of Chihuahua, and he and his men remained loyal to Madero's cause. Abraham Gonzales appeared, while Huerta was making his way slowly northward. He asserted that he had not been with Villa, but

in concealment elsewhere. Huerta replaced him in his position in Chihuahua.

OROZCO REAPPEARS

Orozco disappeared and for some months nothing was heard of him. Disturbance of a desultory kind continued in the unfortunate northern state, but its popular leader was not in charge. With the 20th of February, 1913, when General Huerta had seized the power in Mexico, and the Madero government had fallen and its chief had suffered martyrdom, Pascual Orozco appeared once more upon the scene. He sent a message of felicitation to the provisional president,—his conqueror, be it remembered,—and stated that he should come to Mexico within a few days to place himself at the orders of the government. He really did so, and brought with him various of his helpers,—Campa, Argumedo, Caraveo, and his secretary, Cordova. He was received by Huerta and given a position as brigadier-general of the regular forces. Not only was the young man provided for, but his father, who had figured amusingly in all his period of grandeur, was made colonel. Pascual Orozco took a part in various battles under the new regime. He gained no great victories, but his past reputation made his movements matter of public interest. It was lately reported by General Bliss of the American army that he had been killed in battle. So many who have been killed since May, 1910, have later reappeared alive and active, that one feels a little doubt regarding such reports.

FEDERALS FIRING FROM STEEL CAR, TORREON.

ZAPATISM

QUESTION OF LAND DISTRIBUTION—ATTEMPT TO DISBAND ZAPATA'S FORCES—RAMPANT BANDITRY—ENCIRCLING MOVEMENT BALKED—DESPERATE SITUATION—EXCITEMENT IN CONGRESS—A FERVID ORATION—HUERTA'S CAMPAIGN—UNDER THE MADERO GOVERNMENT—SOURCE OF ZAPATISM—ZAPATISTS IN FEBRUARY, 1913.

IN the south of the republic, two chiefs aided in Madero's revolution. One of these was Ambrosio Figueroa, in Guerrero. He proved to be a man of definite principles and a loyal partisan of those to whom he gave his aid. He has qualities of leadership and has developed great ability. The other was Emiliano Zapata, of Morelos. There seems to be universal agreement that he is a man of cruel disposition, strong passions, without education, but a plausible propagandist. He is false, treacherous, unreliable. During the revolution the most shocking deeds of brutality and barbarism—some of which unfor-

tunately always take place in such popular movements—were attributed to the wild bands under his direction. They seem not only to have themselves delighted in arson, rapine, slaughter, and mutilation, but they were given complete license by their leaders. Toward the close of Madero's struggle, Zapata seized Cuauhtla, after a brave defense by the federal forces, and permitted his two thousand men to indulge in hours of loot and dreadful slaughter. Similar scenes of butchery and destruction had been permitted in many other places.

QUESTION OF LAND DISTRIBUTION

In the Plan of San Luis Potosi distribution of land to little holders, the great estates being broken up, was promised. Zapata claims that it was this promise which led him to revolution, and that it was the hope of such land distribution that has kept him in the field. When the treaty of Ciudad Juarez was signed, and the announcement made of the suspension of hostilities, Zapata and his forces for a moment, but for a moment only, checked their career of pillage and destruction. They claimed to have expected immediate distribution of lands. Such distribution of course did not take place.

ATTEMPT TO DISBAND ZAPATA'S FORCES

De la Barra was suspicious of Zapata and anxious that he and his forces should promptly be disbanded. He was, therefore, one of the first of the leaders of the revolution to be dealt with. He expected that he would be left in charge of a rural force; he seemed to consent to the disbanding of his men. Events, however, proved that all the time he had not intended to give up his arms or ammunition, nor to retire unless division and distribution of lands were made. Agents were sent to deal with him; after much discussion and vacillation on his part, a number of his followers were brought together, presented, and received the money due them; in return they gave up worthless arms and worn-out horses. When on account of this treachery, vigorous action was planned against him, Madero offered to go

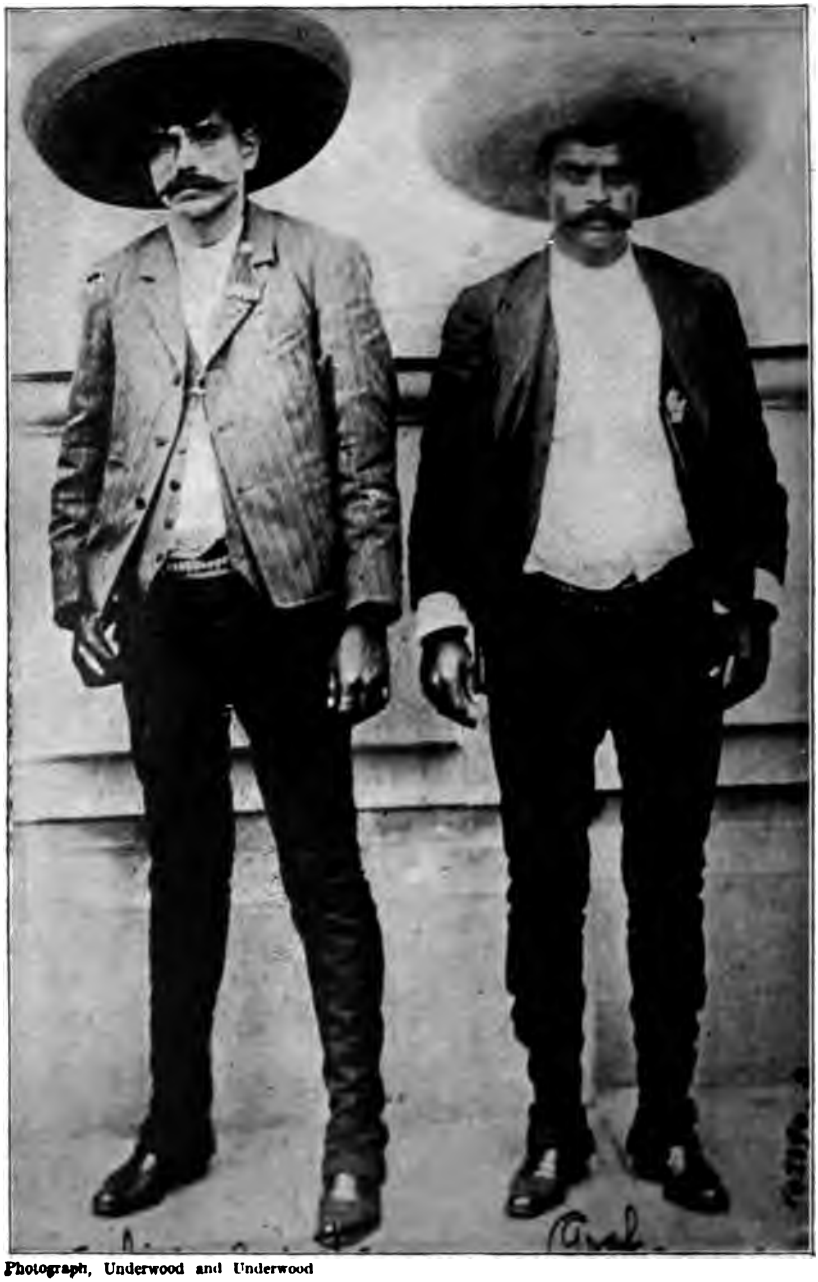
in person to confer with him and try to bring him to submit to the new conditions, give up his arms and ammunition, and disband his soldiers. The conference was held; Zapata seemed to agree to the proposition made by Madero, and promised submission and disbanding. Before Madero offered to go to see him, troops had been dispatched against the bandit leader. Zapata told Madero that he would only give up arms and disband if these forces were withdrawn. The demand did not please the interim government, but the troops were drawn back to a certain distance, and money was paid to the Zapatist soldiers; again worthless arms were yielded in exchange, all good ones being retained in the hands of the guerrillas. Curiously enough, a third effort was made, a third payment given, and a third deception practiced. De la Barra's government had reached the limit of its patience, and orders were given that he and his should be pursued relentlessly.

RAMPANT BANDITRY

Conditions really were desperate. Not only did bands of looters sweep though Morelos, leaving disaster and ruin in their wake, but they made incursions into the neighboring states of Puebla, Mexico, and Tlaxcala. These bands were really under Zapata's control. Their raiding and looting were going on during the period when the government was treating with him, and he was pretending to be making plans for disarmament. In connection with their excursions hideous crimes were perpetrated. Among them was the incident of Covadonga, which involved the nation with the governments of Spain and Germany. As the result of the Zapata movement, Morelos was almost depopulated. Whole towns disappeared, the houses being burned.

SURROUNDING MOVEMENT BALKED

It was finally decided to employ the aid of Figueroa in dealing with the problem. He was told to cease disbanding his soldiers, and to use them in an attempt to suppress Zapata's forces. The period of time during which disbandment was to



Photograph, Underwood and Underwood

THE ZAPATA BROTHERS.

take place ended with July 1, and it had been announced that, after that date, all persons found in a state of insurrection would be considered bandits. In August the headquarters of the Zapatists was at Yautepec. Together with regular forces, which had been sent to the field of action, Figueroa and his men began an enclosing movement. All was going well with the military enterprise, and it looked as if the problem of Zapatism would soon be settled. Nearer and nearer drew the enclosing circle. Then, suddenly, as it was learned later acting under special orders, one column of the enclosing forces abandoned its position, and the enemy escaped without difficulty and again began to overrun the country. The suspicion began to be generally held that, for some reason, some one desired to maintain a force of the old revolutionists in arms.

DESPERATE SITUATION

Finally the Government applied the suspension of guarantees, inherited from the former government, to the present situation. Any one taken in the act of insurrection might be shot without investigation. Chaos ruled. The railroad in Morelos was paralyzed; trains were assaulted and innocent passengers murdered; country places were attacked; little towns were ravaged; the whole state was sprinkled with ruins, cinders and ashes, and the dead. On the 23d of October, a band from Morelos entered the state of Puebla and even penetrated into the Federal District. On the 24th, Milpa Alta was attacked. Towns close to the capital city, like Xochimilco and Tlalpam, were in terror and the people fled from their homes. Of course a force was hurried against the invaders from the capital city, but the bandits gained the heights of Ajusco and escaped.

EXCITEMENT IN CONGRESS

This was much too near for comfort. Assault had been made almost within sight of the capital city. A public demand for prompt and effective action rose. The clamor was echoed in the House of Deputies, and Jose Maria Lozano and Francisco

M. de Olaguibel made long and forcible speeches and demanded that the secretary of Gobernacion and the sub-secretary of the Department of War and Marine should appear before the House to explain the situation. The Sub-secretary of War and Marine was Manuel Gonzales Salas; he was a relative of Francisco I. Madero; it was reported that he had told a newspaper reporter that "Zapatism would end three days after Señor Madero should take upon him the presidency of the Republic."

In response to the demand of congress, Alberto Garcia Granados, Secretary of Gobernacion, and Manuel Gonzales Salas, Sub-secretary of War and Marine, appeared and were interpellated. In his speech Granados said: "There exists a powerful influence which hinders the orders of the government from being executed." The next day two meetings of the cabinet were held to discuss the situation, the second lasting for many hours late into the night. As the result of these meetings, Granados, Salas, and Francisco Vasquez Gomez resigned from the cabinet.

A FERVID ORATION

It is worth while to quote a passage from one of these speeches before congress. Olaguibel said in speaking of the Zapatists: "The first time the Zapatists gave up their arms and received the money; after some few days, they presented themselves before authority in a threatening attitude and took their arms again, religiously reserving, however, the money in their possession; there was necessity of a new disbandment, and then the Zapatists gave up old worn-out *machetes* and flint-lock guns, rusted and worn-out, and kept for a better occasion their dynamite bombs and their splendid mausers. A third disbanding was necessary and when the Federal Government, now wearied with treating with such bad faith, of striving with such notable perfidy, dispatched a strong column of valiant and devoted men, such as those of our army are, under orders of General Huerta; then Señor Madero appeared like the biblical dove of the legend; Señor Madero said: 'I will reduce these men

to order;' and Señor Madero succeeded in delaying for fifteen days the action of the federal forces, detaining the advance of General Huerta, destroying the effectiveness of action of the federal soldiers, and, after tenderly embracing that most sincere General Zapata, returned to Mexico to continue his excursions and his speeches."

HUERTA'S CAMPAIGN

The government had really reached the end of its patience when the Madero mission failed. Huerta resumed his campaign in Morelos and made actual headway. Had he been left a free hand, and the time of the interim government been longer, there is no doubt that he might have entirely suppressed the difficulty. While his campaign was still in progress, Madero approached the president interim with the proposition that the government should issue a safe conduct to Emiliano Zapata, in order that he might go to live in a foreign country. This suggestion was refused by de la Barra. After this failure, Madero sent his personal representative, Gabriel Robles Dominguez, to Morelos, where he had many conferences with Zapata. It is believed that it was these conferences and certain understandings reached through them, which led to the unwise utterance of Salas that, three days after Madero should take upon himself the presidency of the republic, Zapatism would cease. However that may be, there can be no doubt that there was really some kind of understanding between Madero and Zapata, and that the hero of the revolution anticipated no trouble with the bandit leader when he should come to power.

UNDER THE MADERO GOVERNMENT

In this, however, he was misled. When Madero became President, Zapata still remained in apparent rebellion. Plunder, violence, and crime continued. In April, Colonel Castro won a victory indeed in the town of Jojutla, leaving 400 Zapatists dead. But in May all communication with Cuernavaca from Mexico was destroyed, and all trains trying to make the

journey between the two cities were attacked. J. Figueroa Domenech, an admirer of Madero and partisan in his writings, says in one place in his latest book: "Zapatism, yes, was the blackest nightmare of Señor Madero and the blame of it, with justice could be imputed to him for not having consented that it should be destroyed during the interim government of de la Barra."

Even worse than Zapata himself seems, however, to be the new leader, Genovevo de la O. In speaking of him and his cruelties at La Cima and Ticoman, the author just quoted says: "He could not have had human parents; he must have been born from the union of a rattlesnake with a tarantula; in place of a heart, his breast must have sheltered a pouch full of the venom of his progenitors."

SOURCE OF ZAPATISM

Our author, who is conservative in his economic and social views, enters into some discussion as to why the state of Morelos should be cursed with such an exceptional population. He ends his discussion with the following words: "How is it possible that, this being (the Zapatist) nearer to the anthropoid than to man, abounds so greatly in Morelos? If the cause was rooted only in the atavistic tendencies toward an inferior race, the fact would be frequent in the whole republic, and fortunately it is not so. The hot climate of the region, its spontaneous wealth which incites its inhabitants to idleness, the abundance of money which high wages supply and which facilitates the great consumption of alcoholic drinks, and above all, the absolute neglect under which in those districts public education lies, prepare the heart of the people for hardening itself easily before the spectacle of blood, and arouses within it the ferocious appetite of animality." Morelos is a district of great sugar-plantations. It is possible that, as the author says, wages in that state are higher than those generally in the republic. It is hardly likely that this abundant wealth in the hands of plantation labor is a serious impulse in the direction that he suggests.

That there may be a relation between the great plantation with its mass of ignorant, uneducated, untrained workers, and the widespread dissatisfaction in the state, seems possible.

During the interim government, de la Barra appointed a land commission to deal with the agrarian problem. When Madero was in power, a similar commission continued its operations, and perhaps serious steps were taken to investigate the problem of lands for distribution and the terms on which such distribution might take place. As President of the Republic, he found it much less easy to make progress in this direction than it had been to make promises when leading revolutionists in the field of battle.

ZAPATISTS IN FEBRUARY, 1913

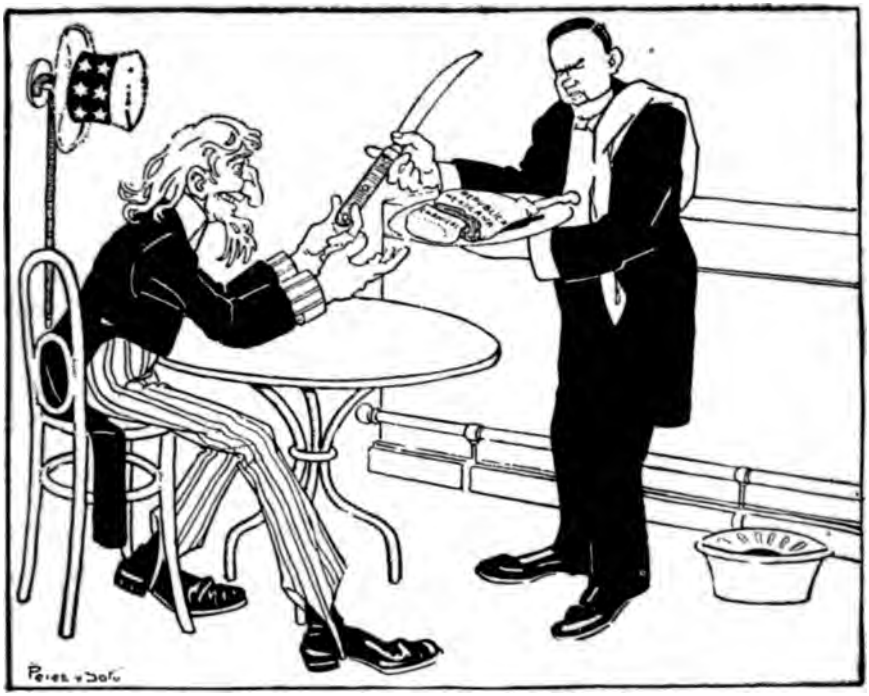
At the very moment when the bloody events of February, 1913, were culminating, the Zapatists again appeared close to the capital city. Again we quote from Domenech because he is a Maderist partisan. He says:

"And finally, as if all this were little for the terrorizing of the populace, there appeared close to the capital, 2,000 Zapatists who, like jackals, awaited the opportune moment for falling upon the city and looting it.

"And why did they not fall upon the city?"

"Repeatedly we have said that Zapatism enclosed a secret difficult to discover, which appeared to show some connection or agreement between Zapata and Madero. Perhaps those hordes who hung about Tlalpam under orders of the fierce and sanguinary Genovevo de la O, had orders to be there, for no other reason than to cause terror, and perhaps also (which is more probable), they did not venture to enter the city for fear of the heavy guns. The bandits of Zapata were only good for fighting from ambush among the briars of the mountain; they had no valor for risking themselves in the streets of Mexico."

GUILTY!



UNCLE SAM'S CHRONIC STATE. HUNGRY FOR A NEW SLICE.

ANTI-AMERICANISM

WE ARE DIFFERENT—WE DESIRE TO IMPROVE OTHERS—THEY KNOW THE WORLD—MEXICAN CITIES—CONSULS AND DIPLOMATS—OUR LAND HUNGER—THE EL PASO INCIDENT—LATIN-AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS—TWO KINDS OF REVOLUTIONS—EXPLOITATION—OUTSPOKEN ANTI-AMERICANISM—THE MONROE DOCTRINE—THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS—TAFT'S MOBILIZATION—HARD PRESSED FOR EXPLANATION.

WHY do they hate us?

WE ARE DIFFERENT

Primarily and fundamentally *because* they are Spanish-Indian, while we are Anglo-Saxon. Our characteristics are profoundly different. Our ideas and our ideals are different.

Our ways of looking at things are different. Our impulses are different. Our languages are different. The Latin Americans are artistic, we are not; they delight in beauty of form, line, and color; they have a sense of proportion; they love harmonies. We do not. They are graceful and demand grace; we are not graceful and are not exacting. They are theoretical—they delight in the development of finished systems; we are practical. They are rhetorical, delighting in metaphors and figures of speech; their sentences are models of elegant composition; they delight in hair-splitting arguments; we are blunt. In an ideal world, perfect in its construction, they would admire us, and we would admire them, *because* of our difference. As it is, we do not live in an ideal world, and difference is damnable. We despise the Mexicans because they differ from us, they hate us because we differ from them. On the whole, they are far more polite and kindly in their toleration of our rudeness and crudity than we are with reference to their lack of aggressiveness and up-to-date development.

WE DESIRE TO IMPROVE OTHERS

They realize that we are different; they consider us most disagreeable. We assume and try to demonstrate that we are superior. Our attitude toward them is always critical and instructive. We are loud in our complaints regarding them, and that to their faces. We cry out that they are centuries behind in their development; we deplore that their natural resources have been neglected; we note the absence of skyscrapers in their cities; we bitterly complain because they do not hustle. We send them missionaries; we send them tourists. We send them some men who have failed in our country, for our country's good. Failures though they are, still they stand among them as representative Americans and undertake to change them. We have sent them quantities of adventurers, who have gone there to show them "how to do things." At times these men make real success. More frequently they start in with a great "hurrah," and come out with a grouch. Everything in Mexican

methods and ways of doing business is a mistake; they will introduce real American methods. For example, it has always been the custom in Mexico to take a noon-day rest—the *siesta.* American business men looked upon the *siesta* as lost time; "These lazy Mexicans," said they, "may loll around and sleep at noon, may close their places of business; but we will hustle, our places will remain open; we'll show them." Of course the result was dismal failure. After all, the business was to be done with Mexicans, and if the Mexicans took their *siesta,* there was really no advantage in keeping the places open, with the certainty that no one would be there. In a thousand ways American methods of business are ill-adapted to Mexican surroundings; and the attempt to force them upon the country and to make the people over after a new and improved fashion is folly. No other foreigners who go to Mexico for business ends feel called upon to bring in reforms and to introduce new modes of life and action. Even the English do not do so. As for the Germans, French, and Italians, they adapt themselves to the conditions of the country as far as possible; they adopt the local methods of doing business. They gain a larger return with less output of capital, force, and energy, with less wear and tear, than we do; and between them and the Mexicans a much better feeling exists than between these and ourselves. Naturally, because of difference, all foreigners are looked upon with something of dislike and suspicion; but the difference in feeling between the Mexicans toward continental Europeans and ourselves is very marked.

THEY KNOW THE WORLD

Their dislike toward us is not due to ignorance of the outside world. Of course we are here speaking of the upper class in Mexican society. The peon, the ordinary mestizo, and the Indian know nothing of the outside world; but the people of wealth have traveled. It is they, after all, who have been in control; in the very nature of things it is they who will always occupy the high positions and come into contact with us politi-

cally. These people are educated; besides Spanish, they know French, or German, or both; now-a-days most of them speak English. They have culture and knowledge of social customs. They have traveled and know the life of great cities. They are familiar with Paris and London, Berlin and Madrid. As a rule, they do not like New York, and Chicago only irritates and vexes them. On the whole, for things intellectual, they look directly to Paris for patterns and guidance. Anything of interest known and developed in continental Europe they know, and if they like it, quickly introduce it. Elegance and luxury have been known in Mexico for centuries. The University of Mexico was founded seventy years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock; how long after that event was Harvard founded? The Bay Psalter is said to have been the first book printed in what is now the area of the United States; a wide range of important works, treating of many subjects, were printed in Mexico before the year 1600. The City of Mexico was world-famous before the attempt to settle Jamestown. Many of the shops in the City of Mexico are beautiful, and their show-windows, dressed with great taste, are brilliant. The display of gems at *La Esmeralda* compares favorably with those of the great jewelers of New York City. The first automobile that I personally saw was not in the city of Chicago, but on the streets of Mexico; it was weeks later before the first machine of the kind made its trial run in my own city. Curiously enough, the new invention did not at first take well with the Mexicans; the next time I visited the capital city, I did not see a single horseless carriage; shortly afterwards, however, they again appeared, and to-day are numerous.

MEXICAN CITIES

It is not strange that the Mexicans prefer the cities of Europe to our own. Their towns and cities are patterned after those of Spain. They are compactly built; there are no vacant lots; the buildings are placed close together; while the majority of the houses are low, generally no more than a single story, they

are of even and uniform height; the idea of streets on which sky-scrapers, buildings of six or eight stories, stores of two or three stores, shanties, houses, and vacant lots follow each other pell mell and without order, can make no appeal to the Mexican's idea of beauty, or urban conditions. A Mexican town of 30,000 people is more of a city, better developed, presenting more of an actual urban plan than most American cities of three or four times that size. The cities of Mexico have always recognized the necessity of open spaces for public gathering. All of them have their plaza; all large cities have their public parks and breathing spaces. As regards civic decoration, their ideas are certainly better than our own. Decoration and illumination of cities on the occasion of public celebrations are notably artistic and beautiful. In public monuments, they far surpass us. Mexican cities, and even small towns, have always had the custom of evening concerts; almost every plaza has its bandstand, and the music furnished several evenings each week is of high quality. The point we aim to make here is that, if Mexicans do not like our cities, it is not because of their ignorance of urban life. It is because they prefer a different style from our own.

CONSULS AND DIPLOMATS

One reason why the Mexicans do not love us is that they have had small reason to admire our official representatives among them. While there have been some marked exceptions, neither our consuls nor our diplomatic representatives have been high-grade officials. Our consular service the world over has been a laughing stock and a disgrace; it has been particularly bad in Mexico. We have made great improvements the last few years, and our consular service approaches respectability. But formerly we sent to foreign countries men whose only claim to appointment was political service rendered at election time. Our consuls were expected to develop trade relations and to encourage the growth of business between these countries and ourselves; our diplomatic representatives were expected to deal

with delicate questions and to develop strong and friendly ties between the governments. Yet men were repeatedly sent to Mexico who had no preparation or natural qualities for filling the office. Sometimes they have been men of inferior ability, with no intelligence or social training, and with no moral ideals. We have had consuls-general whose chief official business seemed to be to introduce worthless but rich Americans to the seamy side of Mexican life, and "to show them the town." We are informed that one consular officer, still occupying one of the most important positions in the service, had to have the superintendent of schools of his own town write his letter of acceptance for him, when he received his appointment from Washington; he has proved a highly successful consul, apparently because all the affairs of his office have been in the hands of a painstaking German assistant, for whose engagement, as he was not an American citizen, permission had to be asked from Washington. The incompetence of our

TURNING OUT FOR GUARD DUTY ALONG THE RIO GRANDE.

representatives as officials, their lack of character as men, their scant mental endowments and poor education, and their total lack of refinement and social qualities, have done much to make the Mexicans despise us. On the whole, their official representatives in our country have been of much higher quality than those we have sent to them. They have not always been men of strong character; they have feared us—and partly through fear, partly through politeness, have been somewhat yielding and subservient—but they have generally been better diplomats than our appointees.

OUR LAND HUNGER

The Mexicans hate us because we have deprived them of territory. The Republic of Texas could never have been founded unless Americans had encouraged disaffection. It would never have been founded had not the interests of our slave states demanded it. The loss of Texas to Mexico was a serious blow; it has always been ascribed to us. Mexico lost more than half of its territory to us as the result of the unfortunate and unjust war of 1847. We took advantage of her difficulties; at the time, she was rent by internal dissension, and four different parties were struggling for the mastery. A divided enemy is an easy one to conquer, and the Mexican war was no great credit to our ability in the military field. As a fact, we wanted land—again it was land for the development of slavery—we took it. Mexico has not forgotten, she never will forget the act. No wonder she hates us. With this story of past aggression, it is not strange that she suspects us in the present, and with justice. Within the last few months, the Chamizal matter has been agitated; it involves additional loss to Mexico. The idea prevails throughout the republic, among all who are thinking and talking, that we have eyes fixed on Lower California, that we are encouraging dissension and rebellion in the north. It is believed that we hope to play again the same part that we played when Texas pronounced its independence. It is feared that American interests and American influence are so great in the northern

range of states that this region may proclaim its independence. It is well recognized that the new republic would have as short, or even a shorter period of existence than had Texas. American mines, American lumber-camps, American grazing lands, American oil-wells, they believe will be the excuse for taking over another slice of territory, and reducing Mexico to the position of a Central American state of little more significance than Guatemala.

THE EL PASO INCIDENT

How deep this suspicion of our purpose to seize territory is, was shown by the popular feeling at the time when the two Presidents met at El Paso. Probably the occasion was only one for the exchange of international courtesies; it is unlikely that any serious politics were involved. It is almost certain that no business of consequence was consummated. President Taft after his experience as Governor-General in the Philippines, came back to our country with new ideas of state functions. A Governor-General of the Philippines is, on the whole, a more autocratic and less simple being than the President of the United States. He is more used to form and ceremony. He has imbibed new ideas regarding functions. He looks with new eyes, tolerantly, upon meetings between potentates and rulers. Why should we not here in America repeat such meetings as take place with frequency between crowned heads in Europe? The question was natural to one who, as Governor-General, had ruled quite autocratically over millions of people in the Orient. At all events, President Taft was fond of the spectacular; brilliant functions dazzled him; and in the geographical nature of things, the only brilliant functions in the direction of meetings of rulers possible were with Canada or Mexico. To arrange such a meeting with Mexico seemed, on the whole, more easy and more satisfactory than with Canada. Accordingly the proposition was made that the two rulers should meet upon the border and exchange courtesies. Of course there was a difficulty. The constitution of Mexico provides that the President of the Repub-

lic shall not absent himself from the national territory during the period of his administration. To do so might be perhaps considered equivalent to forfeiting his office. Mr. Taft knew quite well the constitutional disability, but still he urged the meeting. Don Porfirio was always anxious to please the President of the United States; he finally yielded to the influence brought to bear upon him and petitioned congressional permission to go to El Paso for the meeting. The occasion of course was splendid. The details were arranged with care. President Diaz, for the first time in many years, set foot on our soil; our President visited Ciudad Juarez; there were banquets, toastings, flags, bunting, cheers, bands, commemorative medals, and picture postal cards. In fact, nothing was lacking to make the affair a great success; and our president's heart was satisfied, and our people boasted of the additional strength given to the bond between the two countries. But in Mexico there was serious head-shaking; it may be an example of suspicious ignorance, but there were thousands who asked themselves: "What can have been the motive? What business of such importance had to be consummated that it was necessary for our President to violate the terms of our constitution and to go from the City of Mexico on to American soil? What new concession did he make to the United States? What secret document was it necessary for him in person to sign? Who knows whether he has not sold a portion of our territory to the Americans as Santa Anna did years ago?"

LATIN-AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

We always think of Latin Americans as in a state of constant revolution. We do not realize how many of these outbreaks are fomented by outside interests. In 1896 I visited the Central American Republic of Guatemala. At that time the President of the Republic was Jose María Reina Barrios. He was on the whole a good man for the position. He had of course the bad qualities inherent in rulers where personal politics are in vogue. He no doubt was making money in office and through his office.

But he was a man of ideas and ideals and genuinely interested in the advancement of his country. When we reached the capital city, the latest revolution had recently been ended. The President had emerged from the struggle victorious. The incident was still the topic of common conversation. I was astonished—more, I was humiliated—to find that it was commonly agreed that the whole disturbance was due to American interference. The cherished plan of President Barrios at that moment was the construction of the Great Northern railroad. Guatemala had but a single railroad line in operation; it was the Guatemala Central, connecting the capital city with the Pacific port of San Jose. The proposed line in which the president was interested was to connect the capital city with Livingston on the Atlantic coast. There was no question that its construction would be a great benefit to the Nation. It would increase commerce, develop new industries, connect their republic more directly and easily with the outside world. But the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, whose interests in Guatemala were large and almost without competition, did not look upon the project favorably. It felt that the construction of the new line would affect its profits; therefore, whether it would be useful to the country or not, was a matter of little consequence; its building must be prevented. For a long time the company had successfully fought against the new enterprise, by bribing legislators and raising legal difficulties. It had been defeated, however, in this method of procedure, and from its point of view the only remaining hope was to oust the President from office. Accordingly an insurrection was started, funds and advice were supplied. It had been a sharp and vigorous campaign; it had almost achieved its end. But President Barrios had issued from the struggle victorious. The Great Northern Railroad would be pushed to completion and opened. Of course in the long run it could do no harm to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. With the increasing prosperity, which its operation would bring to the Republic, every line of business and development might be expected to increase, and the company would receive a greater

benefit from its share of new business than it would suffer loss from diminution in the business, which it had formerly controlled. The point, however, is that to this great corporation, financed by Americans and bringing profit into American pockets, the welfare of a nation, the continuance in power of a good ruler, the life and property of individuals—all counted for nothing. It was ready to be the agent for the commission of robbery, murder, arson, in order to continue to make profit. It was my first lesson in international politics. I have looked at revolutions in Latin America since then, with different eyes. I have found many of that same sort.

TWO KINDS OF REVOLUTIONS

There are indeed two kinds of revolutions in the Latin American republics. Those that actually arise within the republic, growing out of the political, social, and economic conditions, and those which are fomented from without for purely mercenary ends by exploiting individuals or companies. The former are unfortunate, but in countries where personal politics prevail, are unavoidable, and generally are based upon sufficient causes and are real movements in the direction of national advance and progress. Such should be looked upon with hope, and under no circumstances should call for interference. They form, however, but a small part of the revolutions of recent years; most of these are directly due to interference by foreign money interests. Such deserve no sympathy from without, the interests involved should be refused protection by the home government. Such revolutions, however, do much of course to deepen and inflame a spirit of hostility to foreigners. To such revolutions much of the hatred toward ourselves is due.

EXPLOITATION

Undoubtedly the chief reason why the Mexicans to-day hate us is that they feel and think we are exploiting them and their country. Everywhere they find American capital owning their sources of wealth. They feel that, little by little their oppor-

tunities have passed into foreign hands, and that their resources no longer remain their own. They feel that they are strangers in a land which has passed into the possession of others. Blindly and ignorantly they feel that they have been defrauded. They know that the transfer of properties has been made without consulting them. Those who think, really believe that these great and valuable concessions to foreigners were made by a band of adventurers who personally grew rich, without the matter being referred to them for approbation. They look, and justly, upon the acts of Porfirio Diaz and his little clique of ministers and politicians—*cientificos*—as illegal frauds. They know that they did not elect the man of iron to power; they know that he did not represent them in these transactions; they know they have been robbed. But they also know that we will fight, if need be, for our "rights." They feel the hopelessness of it all, and in that hopelessness their hatred takes deeper and deeper root.

OUTSPOKEN ANTI-AMERICANISM

Anti-Americanism does not often find actual voice. It is a reality, but it is not always being flaunted. Now and then, however, it shows itself. Thus, in 19— the lynching in Texas of a Mexican caused a great outburst of feeling in Mexico. Lynchings in Texas are so common that they have long ceased to cause any special comment or feeling among ourselves. But those lynchings are of black men, and we are little likely to be disturbed by such. It was natural, however, that the reported lynching of this Mexican should cause a deal of feeling in Mexico. As in other countries, the excitement voiced itself through an outbreak of students. It was students who, on the occasion in question, paraded the streets and cried out against Americans. Much was made of it at the time. It is surprising how complacently we in this country had assumed that the Mexicans must naturally love us and admire us beyond all other people in the world. That there should be a public demonstration of dislike toward us seemed a strange and unreasonable thing.

There were thousands of Americans of intelligence who were actually surprised at the condition. But Anti-Americanism is a reality in Mexico. Not only in Mexico, but throughout the Central American Republics are we hated, thoroughly hated. We are hated in Venezuela, in Columbia, in Panama, in all the South American Republics. We are hated as a people, we are hated as a nation.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

It is time that we knew, and that the world should know, just what the Monroe Doctrine is. Americans do not know. Test it by asking two men, in whose judgment and knowledge you have confidence, about it; ask them when they are together, and then sit back and listen to their discussion. Our Congressmen know no better than the man on the street. Our Department of State has no definite idea as to the Doctrine. The nations of Europe would be vastly relieved to have an actual definition made of it. They might not like the definition, they might not be able to find it in the famous document, but it would simplify their problems and relieve their minds to have it stated. So far as Latin America is concerned, they *hate* the term. There is no question that, when Monroe promulgated his "doctrine," he had in mind the protection of the newly founded Latin American Republics; he desired to encourage democratic institutions; he was fired with ideals of liberty. There were perhaps some sordid suggestions in it, but these suggestions were not turned against the newly founded nations. To-day Latin America considers the Monroe Doctrine nothing more nor less than a notice to the world that the United States proposes to exploit the American continent lying south of the Rio Grande for her own benefit, and that she will tolerate no competition.

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF NATIONS

We have recognized the independence of all the Latin American Republics. So have the other nations of the world. We have no more right to interfere in their internal affairs and poli-

tics than they have to interfere in ours. The mere fact that we are great, and strong, and rich, and ambitious, and grafting, enterprising and commercial, gives us no such rights. The Latin American states today hate us because they have seen us repeatedly outrage this fundamental principle. They have seen us dictate policy, finance revolutions, make and unmake presidents, interfere in battles, browbeat, and threaten. They feel that under cover of the Monroe Doctrine—theoretically framed for their protection—they are being cut off from outside aid, finance, and politics, and being held completely at our mercy.

TAFT'S MOBILIZATION

I was in the City of Mexico when President Taft mobilized a force for the first time on the Mexican border. The feeling produced by that act was extraordinary. It was certainly a mistake in policy which could produce no good result. Probably fifty Mexicans during the day conversed with me about it, and asked its meaning. Many said: "Does the United States really propose to force war upon us? If she does, notwithstanding our weakness and the strong odds against us, we will accept her challenge. We will of course be ultimately defeated, but we shall make a strong defense, and it will cost your people time, money, and many lives to gain the victory."

HARD PRESSED FOR EXPLANATION

Many explanations of course have been offered for Mr. Taft's action, both in Mexico and in this country. The report went out from Washington that foreign nations and European powers were looking to us for the protection of their interests and had brought influence to bear upon us, forcing us to take steps toward filling our obligations. This is in the highest degree unlikely. It was publicly stated in Mexico at the time that, on the appearance of this explanation, the French and German Ambassadors and the British Chargé d'Affaires called upon President Diaz and told him that at the request of their Governments they wished to say that the report from Washington was a lie.

Whether this was actually done may be a question; it is not unlikely. What is certain is that President Taft was deluged with remonstrances from Mexico. It was pointed out to him that his act had jeopardized every American interest, every American life in the republic. Long before effective steps could be taken in this country, American lives and property might easily be wiped out of existence. A rather popular explanation on our side of the border was that it might be a suggestive object lesson to foreign nations; it might be well for other countries—meaning Japan—to know that we could promptly put a military force into the field. The explanation was ludicrous, especially in view of the difficulty that we found in moving and maintaining a force of twenty thousand men in good condition within our own territory, where we had every means of transportation and every opportunity for maintaining health and comfort. We can only hope that foreign nations—including Japan—did not too closely follow the details of the instructive object lesson; we may be sure, however, that they did; and know quite well how poorly prepared we were for putting forces in the field. The official announcement that the movement was simply "manoeuvres" deceived no one. Our annual manoeuvres had already taken place, and the funds appropriated for them had been exhausted. The statement which finally seemed to be officially made with reference to the movement was that it was to more strictly maintain the laws of neutrality and to prevent the passage of arms and war equipment into Mexico. It is probable that the final conclusion on the part of many Mexicans was, that the movement was made at the request of Porfirio Diaz. It is hinted that the old man, finding himself in serious difficulty, and facing ruin, suggested the mobilization of forces along our border in the hope that it would be generally considered as a threat of intervention, invasion, war. It is thought that in the face of such a pressing danger, points of difference would be overlooked and internal quarrels forgotten; that all Mexicans would unite against the threatening force; and the government would be enabled to reëstablish its authority, and perhaps,

later, to retire more gracefully from the field of struggle. The simplest assumption, after all, is that Mr. Taft moved the forces at the dictate of Wall Street—or rather with the view of protecting and aiding the large American money interests in Mexico. It was, however, a false move; its folly was recognized in time, and nothing further done. Whatever may have been the cause, this threat, for threat it was, could but increase the feeling of hostility toward us already so strong among the Mexican populace.

FIGHTING IN THE STREETS, CITY OF MEXICO.

THE NINE DAYS' BATTLE

A TRIPLE PLOT—THE FIRST ATTEMPT—THE SECOND EFFORT—THE THIRD AND FINAL ATTEMPT—THE NINE DAYS' BATTLE—THE ARREST OF MADERO—MURDER OF GUSTAVO MADERO—OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DEATH OF MADERO AND PINO SUAREZ—BERNARDO REYES—ANOTHER VERSION OF THE BATTLE—EFFECT IN MEXICO—FELIX DIAZ MADE TO UNDERSTAND—MADERO'S ERRORS—THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION.

IT is strange that he did not see what was coming. Before the middle of December, I heard from a source of exceptionally-tested accuracy that the Diaz revolution in November was the first of a series of three efforts arranged at one time by one and the same group of conspirators.

BEFORE THE NATIONAL PALACE, FEBRUARY 9, 1913.

A TRIPLE PLOT

If the first effort failed, the second would be made; if it failed, the third would be tried. The group interested was the old group, followers of Porfirio Diaz, anxious to restore so nearly as they could the conditions of the past. If their three efforts really failed, they would resign themselves to the inevitable, and conform to existing circumstances.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT

The first attempt failed dismally. It was launched on October 16th, in the city of Vera Cruz. Its leader was Gen. Felix Diaz. This man was the nephew of the old President, son of a brother. He was born in Oaxaca in 1867. When sixteen years of age, he entered the military college, pursuing his studies for six years and receiving the appointment of lieutenant. He was located for some time in the State of Vera Cruz in connection with the work of the government Geographical Exploring Commission. In 1898 he was chief of the president's staff, married Isabela Alcolea of Vera Cruz, and was elected to the House of Deputies, representing the State of Vera Cruz. In 1902 he was Consul-General in Chile. Three years later he returned to the City of Mexico and resumed his duties as chief of the president's staff. For a time he was Inspector-General of Police. He had been raised from time to time in military rank, and at the moment of the Madero Revolution bore the title of General. When Madero's difficulties as President were thickening, Felix Diaz had some aspirations toward the presidency. He had always been a heavy burden for his uncle, who tried in vain to find some position of consequence which he was qualified to occupy.

It was well understood that Felix Diaz was ready to participate in any effort to remove Madero. On account of his hostile attitude, his commission had been resigned and he himself placed upon the retired list. In accordance with the plan already mentioned, Felix Diaz began his revolution by seizing

the city of Vera Cruz on October 16th. In his proclamation he announced with pride that he had captured that important city without the firing of a gun; he declared that what the nation needed was an immediate and permanent peace; he named himself Provisional President of the Republic and announced that, as soon as victory was secured, he should order a new election and give way to a constitutional ruler. The ease with which the revolution was suppressed shows that Diaz himself had made no serious preparation; counting upon his name and the wealth and position of his wife's friends, he believed the victory already won. It is probable that he was betrayed. It is likely that the President knew all the details of the plot beforehand. At all events, the matter was promptly dealt with, and in nine days after his proclamation the revolution came to a complete end. General Diaz was himself a prisoner. A court-martial, continuing all night, was held, and he was condemned to death. Wisdom demanded his execution, but there was a feeling that much sentiment would be aroused by the outright killing of one who bore the name of Diaz. It was feared that a bad impression would be caused in the United States and in foreign countries. President Madero intervened. Felix Diaz, instead of being executed, was imprisoned in the fortress of San Juan Ulua, in Vera Cruz harbor. Through the influence of Huerta and Blanquet, with reference no doubt to the future developments already planned, he was transferred from there to the City of Mexico, where he was held a prisoner in the penitentiary.

THE SECOND EFFORT

If President Madero had been informed so thoroughly with reference to the plan of Vera Cruz, it was to be supposed that he was equally advised with reference to the further plots of the conspirators. It is probable that the second attempt was easily nipped. It is difficult to know the actual facts. It seems probable, however, that the second attempt was to have come in December and involved a member of the cabinet, J. Flores

Magon, and the Ambassador of Mexico at Washington, Manuel Calero. Apparently Orozco was to have been the military man to carry out this plot. There is much mystery in the matter. J. Flores Magon was forced to resign from the Cabinet; Manuel Calero was hastily recalled from Washington and Lascurain, head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, went there

THE AMBASSADOR'S RETURN.

Photographed by Underwood and Underwood

FELIX DIAZ AND JOSE ROMERO.

to take his place. If, as we believe, this Flores Magon-Calero tangle was the second attempt of the plotters, it was so easily strangled that it is certain that Madero was fully acquainted with the plan.

THE THIRD AND FINAL ATTEMPT

So much the more surprising that the third attempt seems to have found him unprepared. It is still fresh in the public mind, and its results still trouble us. It was spectacular; it filled the world with wonder, astonishment, horror. A nine days' battle in a capital city, between regular troops, with cannon and complete equipment of war! From day to day the newspapers were filled with minute details of its progress. Streets were barricaded, assaults were made, and the ground was strewn with dead and wounded. It is not necessary to narrate the incidents in detail. Briefly stated, it may be said that on the 9th of February, 1913, some of the government troops revolted; they were led by students from the military school of Tlalpam. They first went to the penitentiary where they released Felix Diaz from prison; thence to the military prison of Santiago where Bernardo Reyes was set at liberty. Up to this time General Mondragon seems to have been in charge of the mutineers, but after the release of the two old generals, he gave way to them. The mutinous forces divided; one group under Diaz proceeded to the Ciudadela, which was seized; the other, under Bernardo Reyes, marched to the great plaza and demanded the surrender of the National Palace. Preparations had been made for defense, and the surrender of the palace was refused. In the first encounter, in the early morning, before the palace, General Reyes was shot in the head and killed. It is claimed that in the effort of the assailants to gain admission to the palace courtyard, several cadets were caught and shot, among them being a son of General Blanquet. It is also stated that, when the colonel leading the cadets found that resistance was offered, he ordered a retreat and was shot by them.

THE NINE DAYS' BATTLE

President Madero, hearing the noise of battle, came from Chapultepec to the center of the city on horseback. He was accompanied by General Huerta, chief of his army. With them were some loyal forces—cadets from the Chapultepec military school and *rurales*. During the day four engagements took place, the most serious one being before the palace. The plaza was strewn with the bodies of men and horses. Recognizing the seriousness of conditions, the President declared martial law. Villar, who had been in charge of the protecting forces at the palace, being wounded, General Huerta was put in direct charge of the defense. Vigorous fighting began again after the lull of a day or two, and then firing was practically continuous until the 18th of February. Repeatedly Huerta urged the President to resign. It is said that Madero paid him ten thousand dollars a day for his services, and promised him a hundred thousand on the occasion of the capture of the arsenal. He made desperate efforts to secure reinforcements from outside. Messages were sent to Rabago, who, in the north, was fighting with Orozco, to send three thousand men; but the demand was refused. General Blanquet at Pachuca refused to come in, saying that "his men could not be trusted." When he did come and camp outside the city, it is said that many of his officers went to the arsenal and stayed there with Diaz.

THE ARREST OF MADERO

On February 18, General Blanquet appeared before the Palace. His officers and force gained entrance to the Palace, and the President was arrested. He was sitting with his Cabinet. The officer said: "You are under arrest." President Madero, under great excitement, replied: "You have no right to address the President of the Republic in that manner. I command you to cry, 'Long live the President of the Mexican Republic!'" The officer and soldiers did so, but he repeated: "You are under arrest." The members of the Cabinet were armed with pistols,

and some soldiers were shot down. Madero himself escaped from the room, but on reaching the floor below, found Huerta, Blanquet, and Colonel Rivarola there. They surrounded him, and Colonel Rivarola said: "You are under arrest," whereupon Madero shot and killed him. Turning to Huerta and tearing open his coat to expose his breast, he said to him: "Kill me, my general; I will die President of Mexico." Huerta refused to kill him, but declared him under arrest, and he, together with Vice-President Pino Suarez, was confined in a room in the Palace.

MURDER OF GUSTAVO MADERO

That same afternoon friends were drinking with Gustavo Madero at the famous Gambrinus saloon. After Gustavo had paid the reckoning, an officer brought in some soldiers and arrested him. It is said that he was kept in a cloak-room of the saloon, after being tied, until night, when he was taken to the Ciudadela and killed.

When the report of these occurrences reached the outside world, natural solicitude was felt lest President Madero himself should be summarily executed. Secretary Knox telegraphed to Huerta about the matter and received assurance from him that no summary execution would be permitted. After being held for some time *incommunicado* in the Palace, it is said that the two prisoners were ordered to be removed to the penitentiary as a place of greater security.

THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DEATH OF MADERO AND PINO SUAREZ

The official statement runs as follows: "Madero and Pino Suarez, who have been detained at the Palace at the disposition of the War Department, were taken to the penitentiary in accordance with a previous decision, as the result of which the same was placed yesterday afternoon under the charge of an army officer for its better security.

When the automobiles had traversed about two-thirds of the way to the penitentiary, however, they were attacked by an

FEDERAL SOLDIERS LAYING DOWN ARMS.

Photograph, Underwood and Underwood

armed group, and the escorts descended from the machines to offer resistance. Suddenly the group grew larger, and the prisoners tried to escape.

An exchange of shots then took place, in which two of the attacking party were killed and two wounded. Both prisoners were killed. The automobiles were badly damaged.

The President and his Cabinet have resolved that the affair shall be consigned to the military judicial authorities, having to do with the attempts against military prisoners, such as were Madero and Pino Suarez, so that they may make a strict investigation with the direct intervention of the Military Prosecutor-General.

The Government promises that society shall be fully satisfied as to the facts in the case. The commanders of the escort are now under arrest, and the facts above recorded have been ascertained so as to clear up this unhappy event, however incomprehensible it may be under the present sad circumstances."

BERNARDO REYES

The death of Reyes seems particularly sad. His was a career that might have been glorious. Twice during his life he missed the chance to gain high position and perhaps to do his people good. We say "perhaps" because he always seems to have fallen just short of accomplishing what might be expected of him. His own revolution of December, 1911, was a complete failure. It is whispered that he was betrayed. Perhaps so; but his period of glory had passed, and he actually had no following.

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE BATTLE

Such is the story of the nine days' battle in its simplest form. There are other versions. All of these perhaps agree in the belief that Madero and Pino Suarez were murdered in cold blood. They were dead men before their bodies were put into the automobiles for transfer from the Palace to the penitentiary. There are even stories that the whole nine days' battle is a

fiction; that it was a spectacular performance only, carried out to blind and deceive, in fulfillment of a most carefully developed plot. This view is stated clearly in an interesting article by "Observer." According to him, the whole matter was arranged by the three military leaders, Huerta, Mondragon, and Blanquet. The jailors at the penitentiary and Santiago and the cadets of Tlapam were co-conspirators with them, though informed only of those portions of the plot which it was judicious for them to know. From the first, Reyes was marked for death. There was no actual battle; out of three thousand persons killed during the nine days' cannonading, only eight hundred were soldiers—and those were chiefly faithful *rurales,* devoted to Madero, who had to be got rid of. The rest of the dead were non-combatants—men, women, and children on the street. During the apparent conflict, 3,000 rounds were fired by cannon at the Ciudadela, and it was hit only eleven times. Madero was practically a prisoner in the hands of Huerta, from the hour he entered the Palace. Reyes was killed, not by defenders of the Palace, but by armed men stationed ready for the deed. If this story is reliable, the only point of the whole plot that went awry was in connection with the first attack upon the Palace. It seems that the soldiers within were actually loyal, and that the killing of Blanquet's son and the difficulty in entering the Palace were not foreseen. According to "Observer," Madero and Pino Suarez were killed in the palace room where they were confined, by a Captain Cardenas. Madero was twice stabbed in the back and shot in the back of the head. Pino Suarez was shot twelve times. Cardenas was made major as a return for his performance. In his version, "Observer" implicates the American ambassador. He gives the impression that Mr. Wilson knew the whole plan, and gave his approval to it. He suggests that there was money compensation in his complaisance.

EFFECT ON MEXICO

Whether "Observer's" story is to be accepted *in toto* or not, it much better harmonizes with the facts in evidence than the

simple story commonly accepted. It was a dreadful tragedy; even Mexico, accustomed to horrors, was shocked. Madero, notwithstanding his faults, was truly loved by the common people. It is said that at the spot where the official version declares that he was killed, there was erected a little heap of stones with a cross, and that candles were burned there by the poor and common folk, in honor of their leader.

It was the first occasion in the history of Mexico when a president has been assassinated. Many and many a time Mexicans have said to me, "We are not like the Americans; we do not kill our presidents." They believe, it may be said in passing, that we have killed five presidents, not three. This belief is not unknown in other parts of Latin America and in some European countries.

FELIX DIAZ MADE TO UNDERSTAND

"Observer" says that Felix Diaz, when he found himself in charge of forces and the Ciudadela, and waging an apparently splendid battle against great odds, lost his head; he decided that he should be the leader of the national army and the candidate for the presidency. After a conference with Huerta, Blanquet, and Mondragon, he realized the true state of matters. They gave him clearly to understand that there was no room for his ambition. He might give up all such pretensions or else prepare for a genuine attack and the capture of the arsenal. He took his lesson. With the victory of the conspiracy Huerta was to be president, Mondragon, minister of war, and Blanquet, head of the army. Nothing was done for Felix Diaz; nothing was intended. Many strange things occur in politics, especially in Mexico; but the course of Felix Diaz is surely run. He has nothing behind him, nothing under him, to warrant future expectations. Men who "come back" must really have had a following and made achievement. Characteristic of the man and frightfully indicative of personal politics rife in Mexico, was the tele-

CARING FOR THE WOUNDED.

gram which he sent to Porfirio Diaz in Paris on the death of President Madero. He congratulated him that he had been avenged. For men like Felix Diaz, the whole great drama of the past three years was merely personal in its bearings. Such as he see no meaning, no lesson, in events. For him Francisco I. Madero was merely a personal enemy well got rid of.

MADERO'S ERRORS

Thus ended the dreamer, the idealist. There is no question of Madero's earnestness, good disposition, and devotion to the cause which for the moment had his sympathies. But wherever personal politics prevail, success goes to the head. Porfirio Diaz, in 1872, was fighting for effective suffrage, and his battle-cry was "No reëlection." He too fought the battle of the common people. Yet, when he gained the victory, he forgot all, and, intoxicated with glory and power, as a man of iron held himself and his friends in power. Madero did the same; and perhaps if he had lived, he would have rivaled the great dictator in his ability to forget duty and pledges. We say "perhaps" because, after all, things are not the same today as they were in 1876. The common people in Mexico are thinking; a middle class is rising.

With Huerta the old crowd was in the saddle. It appeared as if all the bloodshed and the struggle of the past three years had gone for naught.

THE QUESTION OF RECOGNITION

What was our duty in the matter? Could we recognize a murderer, his hands dripping with blood? Could we have dealings with a monster of treachery who forgot personal and official obligations? The question was serious. On February 25, 1913, Ambassador Wilson, the man who hoped that Mexican youth would learn a lesson of high patriotism from the presence of a monument to Washington in the City of Mexico—sent the following message to our Government:

"In the absence of other reliable information, I am disposed

to accept the Government version of the affair in which the ex-President and ex-Vice-President lost their lives. Certainly the violent deaths of these persons were without Government approval, and if the deaths were the result of a plot, it was of restricted character and unknown to the higher officers of the Government. Mexican public opinion has accepted this view of the affair, and is not at all excited. The present Government appears to be revealing marked evidence of activity, firmness, and prudence, and adhesion to it, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is general throughout the Republic, indicating the early re-establishment of peace. The Government as constituted is very friendly to the United States and is desirous of offering effective protection to all foreigners. For the present, American public opinion should deal with the situation calmly and accept with great reserve the lurid and highly colored stories which are being furnished by a few correspondents. The great majority of the correspondents here are trying to deal fairly with the situation."

John Basset Moore quotes the utterance of Franklin Pierce in 1856: "It is the established policy of the United States to recognize all governments without question of their source or organization, or of the means by which the governing persons attained their power, provided there be a Government *de facto* accepted by the people of the country."

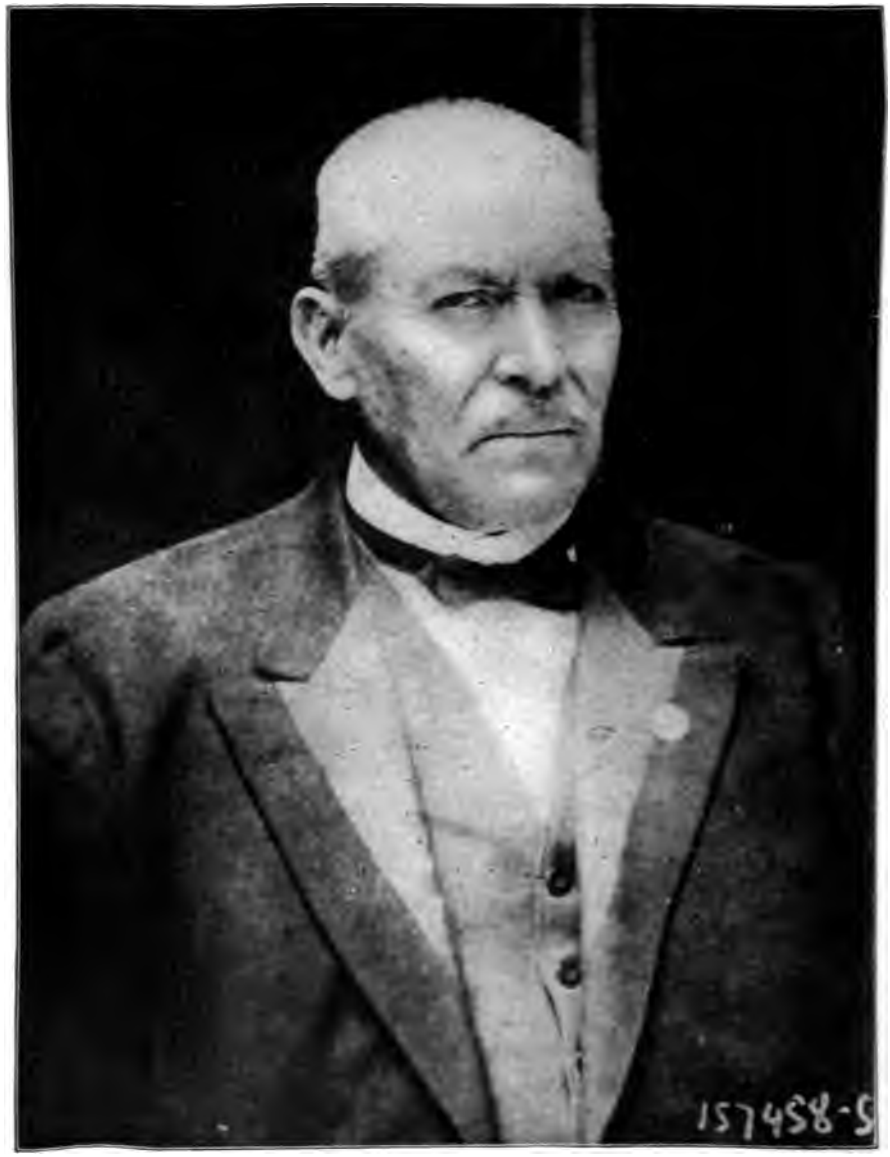
We might well hesitate. Huerta was no great popular hero; his deed had shocked the people deeply; perhaps it had terrified and cowed them also. But retribution would have come soon; he would have died, as his victim did, at the hands of an assassin, or he would have been hurled from power by a popular uprising. To not have recognized—in simple silence—would have aided the natural course of his elimination; it would have weakened him in his position, it would have strengthened the feeling of hostility against him.

MEXICAN ARMY OFFICERS.

HUERTA—AND WILSON

THE CRISIS IN MADERO'S RULE—HUERTA'S WORK—COST OF THE NINE DAYS' BATTLE—TWO RESULTS—REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH—CARRANZA AND VILLA—NORTH VERSUS SOUTH—ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES—MR. WILSON'S STATEMENT—GOOD OFFICES—JOHN LIND'S MISSION—THE DEMANDS—REPLY OF MEXICO—AN EXODUS ORDERED—HUERTA'S COUP D'ETAT—SHUTTING OFF RESOURCES—MYSTERY OF PASS CHRISTIAN—HALE AND CARRANZA—THE PRESENT STATUS.

WE HAVE already indicated that the army was a danger to Madero. In his famous book he speaks strongly about militarism and its dangers; he was not himself a soldier—he regularly lost engagements where he tried to lead; from the beginning he distrusted the whole federal army organization. De la Barra had found it wise to treat the army



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VICTORIANO HUERTA.

with conciliation and respect. Madero for some time after his accession to power, pursued the opposite policy. It chafed him that he, as president, must depend upon the military arm. It will be remembered, too, that the army upon which he must depend was the same army against which he himself had fought. He could not forget that, nor could the soldiers. In this delicate situation it would have been wise for him to try to gain the affection and sympathy of officers and men. On the contrary, he insisted on placing new and untrained men in high positions; some of his raw, undisciplined guerrilla leaders, under the new order outranked officers who had been carefully trained in theory and practice, and who knew the rules of warfare and of precedence.

THE CRISIS IN MADERO'S RULE

By December, 1912, the weakness of Madero's government was clear to all. He had cut loose from his original helpers and advisers; he had continued many of the old regime in power; he was repeating most of the flagrant errors of Porfirio Diaz; he had practically betrayed every principle of his own Plan of San Luis Potosi; he had surrounded himself with unwise advisers and was particularly pliant to the wishes of his brother Gustavo and his Vice-President Pino Suarez. His cabinet was causing him serious trouble and he was compelled to dismiss Flores Magon. At the same time he was forced to summon Manuel Calero from Washington, deposing him from the position of ambassador. There is no doubt that these two men, shrewd and unscrupulous, were plotting against the president. He seems to have recognized the fact in time. It was unfortunate that the fact of Japan still being in mourning for its dead emperor, prevented Gustavo Madero's leaving Mexico at that time. His appointment was politic, and his leaving would have been a real relief to the tension of the moment. His not leaving increased the strain. General Mondragon at this time already had his plot, which later met with full success, practically developed.

HUERTA'S WORK

During the interim government of de la Barra, General Huerta proved his loyalty repeatedly. It was, however, during that period that Madero gave the old army leader real cause for hatred. Zapata and his bandits were devastating Morelos. President de la Barra ordered Huerta to take the field and suppress the outbreak. He would no doubt have done it with success, but Madero interfered, begging permission to use his influence with the rebel leader. Zapata fooled him. The government was put to heavy expense, delay, and increased difficulty by his meddling. Later on, when left an actually free hand, Huerta proved his ability to cope successfully with the problem. Had he not been interfered with, Zapatism would have ceased to be a scourge in Mexico.

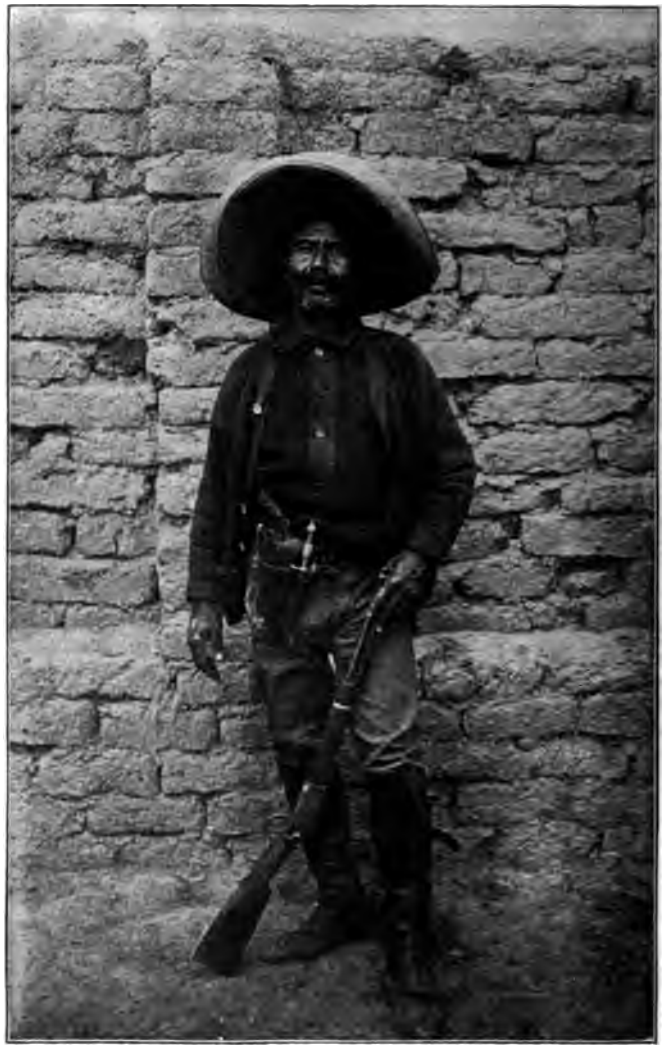
When Madero himself came to power, it was on Huerta that he must depend for suppressing the revolution of Orozco in the north. Among the old leaders who had aided Madero in his revolution two were from the north. They were Pascual Orozco and Francisco Villa. Between the two there arose a personal hostility. Later on, when Orozco rose in revolution against Madero, Villa remained loyal. Orozco was always afraid of Villa and rarely went himself in person against him. Villa was brave and popular as leader. He was a bandit by instinct and by practice. When Huerta took the field against Orozco he laid out a definite plan of campaign. He carried it out in detail and was entirely successful. When Huerta reached Jimenez and established headquarters at that place, Villa came to him from Parral, where he had been operating. At the same time citizens from Parral came to Huerta to complain of the treatment they had suffered at Villa's hands. They claimed that he had made a forced loan of 280,000 *pesos*. General Huerta ordered him to restore this sum of money, and to go with his soldiers to reenforce Rabago. Villa, unaccustomed to take orders, disobeyed the general-in-chief in both matters and showed a threatening disposition to interfere with his plan of

action. As was proper and in accordance with the laws of war, Huerta ordered him to be made prisoner and executed. Huerta yielded, however, to the request of Colonel Navarrete and the petition of Villa himself, and sent the mutinous guerrilla leader to Mexico for trial. There he was placed in prison and should have paid the penalty of his disobedience. He escaped and it was well understood that the President himself connived in the affair. In fact, Villa more than once thereafter boasted that he had escaped on account of Madero's friendship. It is not strange that Huerta despised and hated his employer, who set him difficult tasks, and then threw every difficulty in the way of executing them.

COST OF THE NINE DAYS' BATTLE

These are only some of the many sources of irritation which produced dislike and hatred between two men, who from their positions should be friends. The nine days' battle in Mexico came on. Whatever may be its inner history, its cost was hideous. "One thousand five hundred dead, five thousand wounded; fifty buildings damaged; the military prison of Santiago with all its attached constructions destroyed by fire; the general prison of Belem ruined and the court rooms which were in it totally destroyed and sacked; the electric installations of light, telephones and tramways put out of service, dead, smoking rubbish, ruin everywhere, and 40,000,000 *pesos* in material losses." As the result of it Madero fell, and Huerta came to power. It may be well enough to state the exact constitutionality of his induction into office.

Congress received and accepted the resignations of President Madero and Vice-President Pino Suarez. It called Pedro Lascurain, Minister of Foreign Relations, to the position of interim president; this was in accordance with constitutional practice. Lascurain was at once sworn into office. The presiding officer then declared the Congress closed and the session of the House having been again called, a report was read from the sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in which he stated that the



FRANCISCO VILLA.

VENUSTIANO CARRANZA.

interim president had named General Victoriano Huerta, Minister of *Gobernacion.* A half hour later Lascurain presented his resignation of the charge which had been given to him; his resignation was accepted, and Congress at once named in his place, in accordance with the law, General Huerta. It is very interesting to notice in this moment of excitement and disorder the cautious care taken to actually meet the legal requirements in the case.

TWO RESULTS

Results of the assumption of power by Huerta and the murder of Madero and Pino Suarez were quick in showing themselves. They were first, a rising in the north, and, second, the development and application of a definite policy upon the part of the United States.

REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH

For a moment the nation was stunned by the spectacular battle in the city, the seizure of power by Huerta and the murder of Madero and Pino Suarez. It looked as if the plotters would have no trouble, but very soon there was revolution in the north. The two chief leaders associated with it have been Venustiano Carranza and Francisco Villa. Both were associated with Madero in his revolution of 1910. Carranza in a sense may be considered the beginning of that revolution, as it was his unsuccessful running for the position of Governor of Coahuila which began the contest. He was a member of Madero's cabinet when he was provisional president at Juarez. After the revolution he was Governor of Coahuila at first provisionally imposed by Madero during the interim, and later constitutional governor by election. Carranza and Villa took the field against the new government, calling themselves constitutionalists, and aiming first at the avenging of the death of their old leader, and, second, the restoration of constitutional government. They have ever since been in the field and have gained victory after victory, until practically the whole north of Mexico

is in their power. In connection with their struggle, there have been many border battles, and hundreds of refugees, citizens and federal soldiers, have been forced across the boundary line to take refuge in our country. When these refugees have been soldiers, they have been disarmed and quartered by orders of our government. The charges to which we go in supporting them in the temporary camps established under the control of our soldiery will ultimately form a proper claim against the government of Mexico.

CARRANZA AND VILLA

Carranza has shown himself somewhat of a leader. He is primarily a theorizer rather than a practical man of affairs. He has, however, shown fair powers of organization and control. Interviews with him have from time to time been printed which indicate that he is thirsting for revenge. Revenge first for the death of the fallen leader; and second, that revenge which is natural to military leaders after victory. He has made his list of the proscribed; individuals whom he announces will be pitilessly executed the moment that he is in power in Mexico.

It is certain, however, that there have already been differences of opinion between Villa and Carranza. Of the two, Villa is the stronger character. Should Carranza ever come to power and Villa remain in life, it is to be expected that the story of Madero-Huerta will be repeated. Villa has tasted power. He thirsts for more; brooking no authority, undisciplined, he would think as little of removing his present leader as of shooting scores of defenseless federal prisoners at Juarez. Our newspapers have recently contained much interesting matter regarding the practical socialism of the bandit leader in Chihuahua. He has seized all sorts of private property, institutions, public utilities and operates them by his individual will for so-called public benefit.

NORTH VERSUS SOUTH

One of the most interesting recent articles on Mexican affairs in an American journal emphasizes the feeling between the

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A GROUP OF CONSTITUTIONALIST SOLDIERS.

north and south of Mexico. Its writer claims that the progressive awakening consciousness, struggling toward improvement, is confined to the north. He considers that Madero's fall was due to the fact of his being a northern man, placed in power in the City of Mexico. The thought of the author deserves consideration, but he overstates it. It is not true that the common people in the City of Mexico and the lesser cities of the south are not thinking, and with result. Nor is it true that Madero's downfall was the result of the strong feeling between north and south. That no doubt had its influence. But it is certain that, if Carranza, Villa, or both come into power in Mexico, this feeling will seriously affect their position, and endanger their continuance in power. It is also true that under all circumstances the federal army will always be drawn chiefly from the south, and there will be always hostility between it on the one side and any leader from the scantly populated districts of the north, especially when they have fought against each other.

ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES

The second notable result of the nine days' battle and the assumption of power by Huerta was the position which the United States has taken. The battle in the City of Mexico took place just as Taft's administration was coming to an end. He desired so far as possible to avoid committing the incoming administration to a policy. His attitude, therefore, was one of no interference. On Feb. 9, it was announced that there would be no landing of marines unless Americans were killed or wounded. It was realized that the situation was dangerous, and that anarchy was threatening, from the lack of a strong man to take control. It was recognized that foreign nations had claims, and wanted peace, but that they had redress by direct diplomatic dealing with Mexico, though estopped from active intervention by the Monroe Doctrine.

MR. WILSON'S STATEMENT

Very soon after coming into power Mr. Wilson announced that his administration desires: "The most cordial understanding and cooperation between the peoples and leaders of America." He said: "Cooperation is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular force. We hold, as I am sure all thoughtful leaders of republican government everywhere hold, that just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and that there can be no freedom without order based upon law and the public conscience and approval. We shall look to make these principles the basis of mutual intercourse, respect and helpfulness between our sister republics and ourselves. We shall lend our influence of every kind to the realization of these principles in fact and practice, knowing that disorder, personal intrigue and defiance of constitutional rights weaken and discredit government, and injure none so much as the people who are unfortunate enough to have their common life and their common affairs so disturbed. We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to further their own personal ambition. We are the friends of peace, but we know that there can be no lasting or stable peace in such circumstances. As friends, therefore, we shall prefer those who act in the interests of peace and honor, who protect private rights, and respect the restraints of constitutional provision. Mutual respect seems to us the indispensable foundation of friendship between states, as between individuals." The United States has nothing to seek in Latin America "save lasting interests of the people" and "the security of governments intended for the people and for no special group or interest."

GOOD OFFICES

There is no question that President Wilson has been impelled by the highest motives. There is very serious question

whether his policy has been successful. On Aug. 3, it was reported from Washington that there would be no armed intervention. "President Wilson is willing and eager to help Mexico help herself. It is expected that in a few days he will offer the good offices of the United States toward the settlement of the republic's internal dissensions. The president hopes the factions will accept the offer, but if they do not, there will be no intervention. If an election is held and a stable government established, it will be recognized, but if no election is permitted, and Huerta remains in power, he will not be recognized by the American Government."

The position of a nation which offers its good offices toward the settlement of another nation's internal dissensions is necessarily delicate. In its very nature it is an attack upon sovereignty. It is a far more serious matter than to offer to act as intermediary between two nations. It should be undertaken only when any misunderstanding is impossible. It could therefore never be properly undertaken with regard to Mexico. It is true that for a long time we have been meddling in the private affairs of other nations. We have browbeaten and abused Panama, Nicaragua, and other Central and South American republics until we have become blind to the actual meaning of our action; we have made and unmade presidents; we have done these things at the dictation of money interests or for special points in our own politics. With the coming into power of the democratic party with Mr. Wilson at its head, we might naturally have hoped that such attacks upon sovereignty of other nations would cease. Such seems not to be the case.

JOHN LIND'S MISSION

Refusing to recognize Huerta's government was entirely within our rights. Such nonrecognition by itself would have helped the natural elimination of the man in a short space of time; but we did more than simply fail to recognize his government. Mr. Wilson, in the pursuit of a policy strange and inexplicable, sent his private spokesman and personal representa-

MARIA GUTIERREZ, LIEUTENANT IN VILLA'S FORCE.

tive, John Lind, to Mexico, with certain suggestions. What was Mr. Lind's status? Whom did he represent? Was he the spokesman and personal representative of the President of the United States, armed with authority to act? Or was he the private letter carrier of Mr. Wilson, an amiable and well meaning individual? With whom could he deal? What could he do? The people of the United States were kept in absolute ignorance for days. The newspapers indulged in all sorts of surmises and suggestions. It was queried whether Mr. Lind would be maltreated personally; whether he would be deported at Vera Cruz as an undesirable alien; whether Mexico would get angry and declare war against us. There were days of mystery; suggestions of differences; rumors that negotiations had been discontinued and that Mr. Lind was on the point of returning to this country. Behind it all loomed up some vague impalpable, which was sure to happen, if Mexico failed to meet our demands.

THE DEMANDS

It is a question whether Mr. Lind's presentation of President Wilson's suggestions or demands was not itself a recognition of Huerta's government. However this may be, the Mexican Government treated John Lind with every courtesy. They received him—which they were under no obligation to do—as a mark of appreciation of President Wilson's good intentions. After all, the matter proved "the labor of a mountain, and the birth of a mouse." The four demands made by President Wilson were as follows: (1) Agreement to a cessation of hostilities throughout Mexico and to a definite armistice; (2) provision for a free and early election for president; (3) President Huerta not to be a candidate for reelection; (4) all factions to agree to abide by the result.

In their very nature these demands were ridiculous. The first was an impossibility; the second would take place in the nature of things, and had already been provided for; the third involves a delicate constitutional point, fully appreciated by

the Mexican people, and one only for them to consider; the fourth is an entirely academic provision, which could never be operative in any country, at a time of real political excitement.

REPLY OF MEXICO

There is no question that the responses made by Huerta's government were dignified and better based in diplomatic usage than our demands. It is unfortunate that we have not space to quote in detail. We will only give the following as a sample. In a second note Wilson insisted on an immediate answer only to the demand, that Huerta be eliminated from the electoral contest, and that the other points could be taken up later on. Gamboa, Huerta's Secretary of Foreign Relations, in his note of answer said that his first answer might stand for a reply to this demand, "but that Huerta, desiring to exercise extreme forbearance, was willing to make further explanations to the suggestion of Wilson, that, if the Mexican Government "acts immediately and favorably, he would express to American bankers and their associates assurances that the Government will look with favor upon the extension of an immediate loan sufficient to meet the temporary needs of the present administration." Gamboa replied: "There could not be a loan big enough offered to induce those entrusted with the national dignity to put that dignity aside." . . . "Not only would we forego our sovereignty, but our destiny as a separate entity and all future elections for President would be submitted to the veto of any President of the United States. Such an enormity no Government will ever attempt to perpetrate."

The result of the President's proposition to Mexico was to greatly strengthen President Huerta's hold upon his people. He had not before been a popular leader. From now he was to be more or less such an one.

AN EXODUS ORDERED

Immediately after sending his report to Congress President Wilson urged Americans to leave Mexico. Those who were

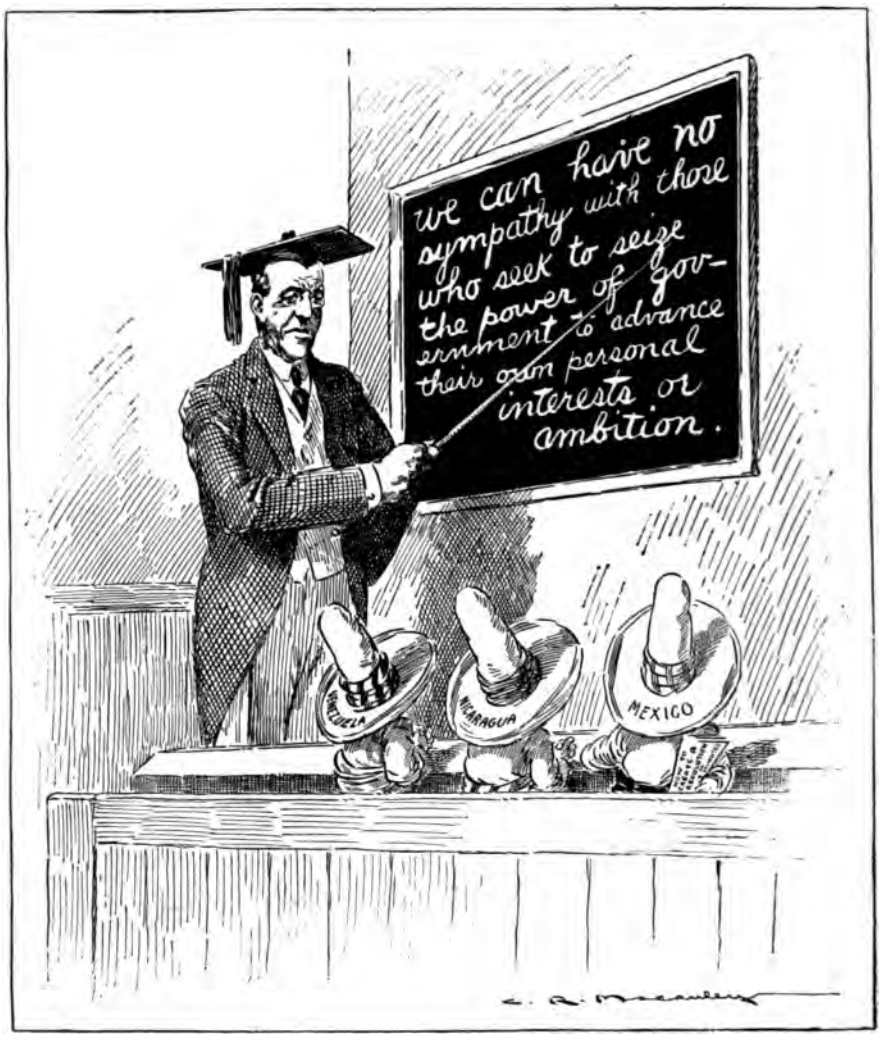
unable to bear the expense of their own transportation were to be aided in making the exodus. An appropriation of $100,000 was provided for the needs of the refugees. The government claimed that two or three years before there had been 60,000 Americans in the Republic of Mexico; this number had fallen to one-sixth of that amount, or less. The embassy and consulates were ordered to inform all Americans of the President's warning. This action was most injudicious. It is possible that Americans in remote and mountain regions were in danger, but, if so, they already knew their peril, and should have taken steps to save themselves. The greater part of the Americans in the Mexican Republic were in no danger. At the City of Mexico itself, the American residents were at a loss to understand the warning. Dr. John W. Butler, at the head of the Methodist missions of the country, telegraphed to his home board as follows: "Washington instructions for American exodus much resented by colony. Reasons given appear inadequate. Union mission conference representing four churches objects, except from disturbed territory. What does the board recommend in the present emergency?"

Charles E. Cummings, superintendent of the Mexican Telegraph Company, telegraphed: "During the thirty-two years' residence in Mexico I never received better treatment than now, and if it comes to the worst between the two countries, I am willing to trust the safety of myself and family to the hospitality and protection of the Mexican people."

Stones are thrown at dogs that run. If Mr. Wilson desired to jeopardize the lives of Americans resident in the Republic of Mexico, he could have done it in no other way better than by this hysterical suggestion.

HUERTA'S COUP D'ETAT

On Oct. 10, Huerta made a *coup d'etat.* Dr. Belisaro Dominguez, Senator for Chiapas, had disappeared. It was believed that he had met with foul play and that the president was at the bottom of the mystery. One hundred and ten mem-


We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambition.
VENEZUELA
NICARAGUA
MEXICO

STILL TEACHING SCHOOL.

bers of the House of Deputies lodged a resolution of warning to Huerta on account of this affair, claiming that they should abandon the capital, and hold their meetings elsewhere, owing to a lack of guarantees of personal security. When the House of Deputies came again in session soldiers were found in possession; Minister Aldape read a communication from the president in which he demanded the withdrawal of this resolution. On refusal to do so the refractory deputies were arrested and thrown in prison. Congress was dissolved, and the election of a new Congress ordered. The date of the election had been fixed for Oct. 25. Four candidates for president were in the lead, the most conspicuous being Federico Gamboa, nominated by the Catholic party; the others were Felix Diaz, Manuel Calero, and David de la Fuente. The vote cast was very small and practically none of these candidates figured prominently. On the contrary General Huerta was declared upon the 30th to have been elected President, and General Blanquet, Vice-President. Under the circumstances, this *coup d'etat* and the following election were bold strokes on Huerta's part. They could only have been carried through on account of the fact that the old man had been rendered stubborn by opposition and strong by apparent persecution from without.

On Nov. 15, our newspapers reported Huerta as saying in answer to an inquiry: "O, no, I shall not quit; I shall continue just as I have been doing, to put forth my best efforts to bring about the pacification of the country and thus fulfill the promise I made on taking office." Mr. Lind is at this time reported as threatening the withdrawal of the American Embassy and the landing of marines. In the same newspaper this comment is made: "Thus once again Huerta has flouted the United States. If the president would adopt the recommendations of some of his advisers, he would throw troops into Mexico City, oust Huerta, establish a provisional president in office, and withdraw." It is strange how easy it is for the ordinary reporter to solve affairs of state.

SHUTTING OFF RESOURCES

President Wilson naturally was much offended at the miscarriage of his plans. In pursuance of his policy of watchful waiting he decided next to cut off sinews of war from Huerta. Not only would he object to our own bankers furnishing loans to the existing government of Mexico, but he would so represent the matter to foreign nations as to interfere with their supplying the urgent needs of the republic. Here, again, unquestionably he interfered unwarrantably with the affairs of our sister nation. Huerta can for some time secure forced loans within his own territory. Such loans necessarily entail serious suffering upon the community. Local banks and legitimate enterprises alike must suffer during the period of disciplining the president, who, with Indian tenacity holds to his office. It is easy enough to dream of subsequent reimbursement, but millions in the future cannot compensate for the impossibility of meeting present needs for thousands.

MYSTERY OF PASS CHRISTIAN

While President Wilson was at Pass Christian there was a mysterious visit to him there. The United States has not yet been taken fully into confidence in this matter, but it is pretty certain that on that occasion representatives of the newly organized Catholic party made some proposition to the president. It is suspected that the effort there made was to have him agree with them upon a mutually satisfactory candidate for president. History repeats itself, and we can only be reminded of that time in the sixties when a body, chiefly representing the Church party, visited Europe and invited an intervening sovereign.

HALE AND CARRANZA

In his efforts to down Huerta, President Wilson has sent his personal representative, Mr. Hale, to confer with Carranza and the constitutionalists. Carranza refused to deal in any

way with Huerta. He demanded his elimination. He, however, absolutely refused to sell the constitutionalist party to the United States, and demanded that Mr. Hale present credentials. This is actually the shrewdest thing put to the credit of Carranza.

THE EMBARGO LIFTED

The latest step in the battle between the two presidents has been the lifting of the embargo upon arms and ammunition from this country into the territory of the constitutionalist forces. It is doubtful whether in practice it may amount to much. How much further the government may be going than merely lifting the embargo is uncertain. There has at no time been difficulty since 1910 in bringing arms across the border into Mexico. Of course, if we *supply* arms, or *sell* at *advantageous prices,* that will aid the rebels in the field. It is amusing, however, and saddening, to find ourselves backing Villa and Carranza at the present. The avowed reason for hostility to Huerta is his bloody hands. His are clean, compared with Villa's. And there must come a time of readjustment in Chihuahua. Villa's socialism makes a good newspaper story, but some time it must be dealt with and those private rights which President Wilson asserts should be respected, must be guarded. Are we really ready to endorse Villa's particular form of government at the present moment? A dangerous precedent may be involved.

THE PRESENT STATUS

What is the status at this time? We have impaired a nation's sovereignty,—a serious matter; we have prolonged a bloody conflict, with hideous cruelties and frightful loss; we have entrenched a man in power, whose *natural* elimination was desirable and would soon have come about; we have produced ruin and disaster by a hysterical cry of exodus; we have

made it impossible legally to collect damages by refusing to recognize a *de facto* government; we are encouraging and abetting flagrant abuse of individual rights of property.

All this we have done, and still are doing, with the best intentions in the world.

NO MONEY TO MOVE HIS CROP

VIEW IN THE CITY OF MEXICO, MARCH, 1913.

JAPAN AND MEXICO

OLD RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND MEXICO—JAPAN'S COMMERCIAL GROWTH—THE SCARE ABOUT MAGDALENA BAY—THE JUSTICE OF JAPAN'S POSITION—THE MATTER OF THE SPECIAL ENVOY—THE FIRST APPOINTMENT—THE SECOND APPOINTMENT—FELIX DIAZ—AND FINALLY—DE LA BARRA.

SOME papers of January 5, 1914, contained the following: PARIS, Jan. 4.—Prof. Guglielmo Ferrero, the Italian historian and critic, has an article on "Japan and America" in Le Figaro today. He begins by saying that probably few persons have paid attention to the cable dispatches describing the warm welcome accorded by the Japanese to Francisco de la Barra, the special Mexican envoy who went to Tokio to express to the Mikado the thanks of the Mexican republic for

Japan's participation in the celebration of the centennial of Mexican independence three years ago. . . .

The Italian writer believes that the honors accorded to Señor de la Barra three years after the events for which he returned thanks are part of Japan's "curious American policy."

It is unlikely that the great Italian historian really said just this, but undoubtedly our people will accept the statement as his utterance.

OLD RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND MEXICO

In 1910 we were guests at Sendai, northern Japan. My companion was my Mexican photographer, Manuel Gonzales. We spent an afternoon with Mr. Date, the lineal descendant of the famous old Lord of Sendai, Date Masamune. Our host was particularly interested in my companion. It is possible that he had never seen a Mexican. He inquired with interest about Mexico and its people. He told us with evident and justifiable pride, that 300 years ago his famous ancestor had sent a delegation to Rome by way of Mexico. That delegation has entered into history; it was an important link between the extreme Orient and Europe; it is particularly interesting that Mexico was the mid-point in the connection.

Trade relations between the two countries were once important. During vice-royal days galleons were regularly fitted out from Acapulco, to carry the productions of Europe and America to the Philippines, Japan and China. Many things came back in exchange, and there are still numbers of fine old pieces of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, furniture, laquer, silks and other fabrics treasured in Mexican families.

There were religious contacts also. Spanish missionaries went to the Orient, via Mexico, and Mexican priests as well. The famous Felipe de Jesus, known as the proto-martyr, was a missionary from Mexico to Japan who found his death in that country. A ghastly print, often repeated, represents the unfortunate twenty-six missionary priests crucified near Nagasaki.

But while relations between Japan and Mexico were ancient

and varied, they ceased for a long time, and for generations the two countries were largely out of touch, though relations were never completely destroyed.

JAPAN'S COMMERCIAL GROWTH

With the development of Japan's commercial interests the two countries are again in contact. Japanese settlers in considerable numbers have moved into the Republic. At Juchitan, in southern Oaxaca, we found a hotel kept by a Japanese in 1898. There has been a constant trickling in of Japanese laborers for the last score of years; for the most part, they have been well received, and until lately have aroused little, if any, hostility. Japanese steamers serve Victoria in British Columbia, Tacoma, Seattle and San Francisco; but they also serve Salina Cruz and Manzanillo, on the coast of Mexico, and go down the whole South American coast and even around Cape Horn. Comparatively few Americans realize that Japan is one of the great commercial nations of the world; her lines of steamers are surpassed only by those of Great Britain and Germany. Transportation is one of Japan's great industries. It is legitimate business; it is a necessary development; it is as natural that Japan should be a great shipping nation as it is that Great Britain should be so—and for precisely the same reason. Japan, until a few years back, has been an island empire; the cultivatable area within her territory is small and incapable of much extension. The population is numerous and crowded. Japan is driven to manufacture and trade—to shipping—as inevitably as Great Britain was. There is no accident in it, it is no deep and dark scheme of the politicians, which makes her a world-carrier. But, in connection with her rise to importance in world-trade, suspicion arises in our country.

THE SCARE ABOUT MAGDALENA BAY

Not long ago our papers were filled with rumors of plots and schemes against ourselves in connection with Magdalena Bay. Senator Lodge and others turned suspicion into accusation. Our

yellow journals were filled with hostile criticisms, and statesmen of the Hobson type talked about our unpreparedness for war and made desperate appeals for a great army. Undoubtedly the Japanese steamship company wanted a footing in Magdalena Bay. It needs a footing at many points along the Pacific Coast. It must have it, it will no doubt secure it; but in such a convenience for commercial development there lurks no serious danger.

THE JUSTICE OF JAPAN'S POSITION

The delicate point of course is the fact that the Japanese government is said to be a partner in the shipping company; there is a certain amount of truth in the claim, but it counts for little. Miss Simcox in her interesting studies of primitive civilization recognizes two kinds of civilization to which she gives the name "domestic" and "political." The terms are happily chosen and name two actually different conditions and points of view. Japan and China are domestic civilizations. The fact that they are such is the secret of their long existence; it is the reason for the relatively great happiness of their teeming populations. If white men were as crowded as the Chinese and Japanese, life under our form of social organization would be not only wretched in the extreme, but actually unendurable. The fundamental idea of domestic civilization is the subordination of the individual to the group; Japan and China have existed with their teeming populations on account of this altruistic principle. In domestic civilization the interest of the mass is preëminent; in political civilization individualism is the rule, and selfish advantage the aim. In domestic civilization the government must do for the people far more than it does or can do in individualism. In Japan the people endure what we would consider a heavy weight of taxation, not only without outbreak, but without difficulty or suffering; the government returns to the taxed population far more than we do. Not only does the Japanese government carry mails for the citizens; it conducts the telegraphs and telephones, the railroads, irriga-

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FELIX DIAZ.

tion systems, adjustment of land-boundaries, and a thousand other matters of public utility. In Japan, the government deals with the problem of distribution of population; it encourages emigration from crowded districts of limited opportunity into scantly settled regions of larger promise; it aids the man who is willing to go from Osaka or Hiroshima to the Hokkaido or to Korea; if necessary, it supplies him not only transportation, but tools or even the opportunity of setting up in business. This is not political scheming aimed to the undoing of other nations; it is the natural working out of the fundamental idea of social and governmental organization. From this point of view, it is as natural that the Japanese government should be interested in its shipping enterprises as in any other branch of national development; it is as natural, if you please, that the Japanese government should be a partner in the steamship companies as that she should carry mails, disinfect villages, control the health conditions of cities, and distribute seed grain to famine-stricken districts. Only a complete ignorance of the fundamentals of domestic civilization can excuse a writer or a public speaker for criticising this interest in shipping enterprises and considering it political plotting.

Japan has a perfect right to her system; so has China. It is true that our own selfish and individualistic system is so different that we dislike the other way, and even, as Mr. Millard in his various writings does, demand that those great nations should conform to our ideas and play the game according to our rules. It is not only unreasonable for us to make such a demand, it is hopeless. And if the matter were to be decided by opinion, and majority rule were to apply, it would be more proper for Japan to demand that we conform to their ideals and point of view. Curiously and interestingly, the whole trend of the blind movements taking place in European and American nations is actually in the direction of their system.

Magdalena Bay is not a menace. Japanese shipping lines have a right to terminal facilities. The fact that the Japanese government is interested in them does not make the effort to

secure conveniences a political plotting. There is not, unless by our own folly we force the attitude, in the negotiations regarding this matter, any unfriendliness, nor hint of warlike preparation.

THE MATTER OF THE SPECIAL ENVOY

But we return to the reputed utterance of Professor Ferrero. Twenty-eight nations participated in the Mexican Centennial Celebration. They showed their sympathy and friendship to Mexico in her hour of glory. International courtesy demanded return delegates carrying the thanks of the nation for their friendship. Promptly after the celebration, official delegates were named and sent to all the participating nations with the thanks of Mexico. To all, we say—there was one exception; the thanks of the nation were not promptly carried to Japan.

THE FIRST APPOINTMENT

The story is a curious one. Fate itself seems to have been interested in preventing the courtesy. At the time when delegations were named and appointments made to France and Germany, Belgium, the United States, and Argentine, and to all the rest, there was indeed a delegate appointed for carrying the national thanks to Japan. It was Porfirio Diaz, Jr., son of the President, who was appointed. He was a young man, of amiable disposition, quite harmless in diplomacy and politics. The appointment was looked upon as a plum; a trip to Japan at the government's expense was a nice little outing. But the moment was a bad one. The celebration of the centennial filled the month of September. In November Aquiles Serdan met his death and the Madero revolution was on. The whole country was ablaze. The rebellion, which at first seemed insignificant, gained strength; the Diaz power began to totter; the old president found himself deserted by those whom he had trusted; he did not know upon whom he could depend; in that hour of trial he was sadly shaken; he could trust his son, and disliked to be left alone in the moment of crisis. One day after another w

GUAYMAS.

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set for the young man's departure; each time the old man's fears prevented his starting and the date was deferred. Señor Efren Rebolledo, representative of the legation of Mexico in Tokio, was in the City of Mexico, waiting for young Diaz to accompany him to the land of the rising sun. Finally, after several postponements, he could wait no longer for the official delegate and went back alone to his official duties; I called upon Señor Rebolledo the day he left the City of Mexico; he was busy packing his trunks and complained bitterly over the long delay and over the fact that, after all, he had to make the journey without companionship. A few weeks later and Porfirio Diaz fell. The thanks of the nation had not been carried to Japan.

THE SECOND APPOINTMENT

There followed the interregnum; Francisco de la Barra was too busy with complicated matters to think of sending thanks to anyone. The fall elections placed Francisco I. Madero in the presidential chair. Some months of course were necessary before the machinery of government was moving smoothly. Then it was remembered that the thanks of the nation had not been carried to Japan for her participation in the centennial. Just as Porfirio Diaz considered the occasion fit for a pleasure excursion for a member of his family, so Madero thought he would give a near relative an outing. Accordingly Gustavo Madero was appointed official delegate of the nation to carry thanks to the Japanese Empire. Again I was in the City of Mexico at the time set for the departure of the delegate; farewell banquets were given by the friends of the appointee. But before the sailing, it was realized that the death of the Mikado made the moment an unfavorable one for the occasion. The departure of the delegate was postponed until the period of mourning should be past. The Reyes-Diaz revolution came on; the Nine Days' Battle in the City of Mexico took place; not only the President himself was murdered, but his brother, Gustavo, was assassinated. The thanks of Mexico were still untold.

FELIX DIAZ

Again a period of uncertainty. As Huerta, however, gained a firmer hold upon the government, it was again realized that courtesy demanded that a delegate be sent with thanks to Japan. The realization of this fact coincided with the desirableness of the absence from the city of Felix Diaz. If Huerta were to continue in power, if he were to be a successful candidate for the election, it were better that Felix Diaz, nephew of the old president and a man of no particular significance but still a possible candidate, should be out of Mexico. Accordingly he was the one chosen for the official duty of conveying thanks to Japan. His mission proved a fiasco. The Japanese government refused to receive him. This refusal was certainly unwise. One of two things is true—either the United States Government made representations to Tokio that we did not wish the delegate to be received, or it did not make such representations. If Washington did make such representations to Tokio, the Japanese government should have politely but clearly indicated that the matter was one which did not concern us and in which she should pursue whatever policy seemed best to her. If Washington did not make such representations to Tokio, the action of the Japanese government could only be considered as an act of uncalled-for effort to conciliate the United States by an ostentatious display of friendliness towards us. Whatever was the fact, the act was most unwise, and unquestionably the Japanese government recognized its error promptly. There was a natural outcry on the part of the Japanese people; a friendly nation with whom Japan had treaties had been insulted needlessly. It is unlikely that the Japanese people were alone in making this expression of feeling to the Foreign Office in Japan. Not only was Mexico treated shabbily by the refusal to receive its delegate; every Latin American republic was offended, and in one way or another must have made its feeling known in Tokio. It would be strange indeed if European countries as well, watching with care the movement of international politics, did not express

surprise to the Japanese government over the uncalled-for incivility to Mexico.

AND FINALLY—DE LA BARRA

Under such circumstances it is not astonishing that the next man appointed by the Mexican government should have been received with distinguished courtesy. Señor de la Barra, in December last, reached Tokio, finally bringing the long-delayed thanks of the Mexican people and government for Japan's participation in her celebration. He was received with open arms. When the Emperor granted him an interview he was decorated by the imperial hand. It is unlikely that any public business of weight was transacted between the two governments. It is more than likely that the whole was merely an exchange of international courtesies. It is true, however, that de la Barra is a very different man from either of the early nominees. No department of foreign affairs that has ever existed in Mexico would for an instant think of entrusting matters of consequence and delicate diplomatic negotiations to Porfirio Diaz, Jr., to Gustavo Madero, or to Felix Diaz. Porfirio Diaz., Jr., was a nice young man of no political significance; Gustavo Madero was shrewd, a wrecker in politics, but no diplomat; Felix Diaz has ever been a failure—in military matters, politics and diplomacy. It is absolutely certain that no one of the three would have been trusted by either president or department with a matter of consequence. Francisco de la Barra is different; he *could* have been entrusted with important business; he *might* have treated business of importance. But it is highly unlikely that he did so. His absence from Mexico was desired by President Huerta, and most desirable from his own point of view. The Mexicans are too shrewd to approach Japan seriously at this crisis, and Japan is too wise to receive overtures from a tottering government like Huerta's.

No, the warmth of de la Barra's reception in Japan was an atonement for an act of bad judgment. It was not hostility to the United States.

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FEDERALISTS AT OJINAGA, WATCHING ADVANCE OF REBELS.

ARTILLERY LEAVING CIUDADELA, AFTER MADERO'S OVERTHROW.

WHAT WILL COME?

WHERE IS THE MAN—PORFIRIO DIAZ—ZAPATA—PASCUAL OROZCO—"PANCHO" VILLA—FELIX DIAZ—VASQUEZ GOMEZ — FEDERICO GAMBOA—DE LA BARRA—HUERTA — CARRANZA — THE QUALITIES NECESSARY.

PROPHECY is a thankless task. No matter how reasonable prediction seems to be, no matter upon what certainties it rests, it is usually a failure.

"The best-laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft a-gley."

The best constructed schemes of what will happen are rarely realized. We will not prophesy; but let us look over the field and see what *cannot* happen, what *may* occur.

WHERE IS THE MAN?

Where is the man for Mexico's present crisis? History shows us that in the hour of greatest need a hero generally arises. It

has always been so; it will continue to be true. Mexico's history is full of instances. The gentle priest of an obscure town seemed little likely to become a great leader; yet Hidalgo was the very man necessary for the raising of the standard of revolt; he himself did not see the triumph, but he was the man waited for. Juarez, insignificant Indian, came to the front in the hour of need; no one better than he, with his Indian doggedness and stubbornness, could lead the desperate hope of republican Mexico through the uncertain days of the intervention empire. Diaz himself was the man of the hour; his peculiar qualities fitted him for the task which had to be done if Mexico were to develop. Madero, again, appeared in the hour of need; he was the representative of the spirit rising among the people; the hour was ripe; a man was necessary to demonstrate the weakness of the house of cards which the great dictator had reared. So in the history of other countries. Simon Bolivar, a brilliant leader, man of great magnetism, but far mightier with word and pen than with his sword, became the savior of a continent; the crisis itself produced him. So when we, rent by bitter partisan strife, facing great moral questions, facing national division, needed a man as leader, the man appeared; our greatest crisis brought forth a Lincoln.

In Mexico, if the nation is permitted to work out its own destiny, a man will certainly arise. Who will he be, and why? At one time the natural man to lead the Republic along the path of progress and legitimate development was certainly Bernardo Reyes. Twice at least under the old regime, he might have led a successful revolution. Had he done so, he had done much for Mexico, and his name would be remembered as a great leader. He was actually a popular idol—his name was on every tongue, and the common people looked to him for leadership; he was loved by his soldiers and was trained for military leadership; he had ideas of education and government; he had experience, and while he was governor his state was happy by comparison with others of the Republic. But his day ended long ago; when he withdrew his candidacy for vice-president, to

please Porfirio Diaz, he destroyed all possibility of ever leading his nation. Was he, after all, a coward? Or was he stirred by sentiment and personal affection? Or what was the weak point in his character which prevented his acting when he might have acted, when he should have acted? When he finally did act, it was too late. His hostility to Madero, in the City of Mexico, before the election of 1911, was puerile; his invasion of November, was a sadly weak fiasco. His death, before the Palace, in a treacherous attack against the man who spared his life, was a hideous ending of a life which once had promised great results.

PORFIRIO DIAZ

Looking the present field over, who is available? All sorts of ridiculous suggestions have been made. One of the least sensible, laughable, if it were not so foolish, is that Porfirio Diaz should be recalled from Paris. Let the old man rest, and end his days in quiet comfort! He long outlasted his period of successful government. He *went,* too late for his own honor and for his country's good. In 1910, the year of the centennial celebration, he was admitted to be eighty years of age; today he is officially eighty-four. There is a curious difference of opinion as to the age of Porfirio Diaz; while his announced age is what we have just stated, it is claimed by many that for some personal reason his age has always been misrepresented, and that in reality he is five years older than he claims; if so, he is today a man of almost eighty-nine; the idea of recalling a man of this advanced age to power is ridiculous. Porfirio Diaz is a man whose simple life and abstemious living have made him seem much younger than his years; but every one, who saw him in the last two years of his administration, knows that he was breaking. The last reports from Paris state that he is yielding to advancing deafness. Infirmity and age render him completely unavailable.

ZAPATA

Will Zapata answer? The asking of the question is needless. Zapata is a brigand; he glories in arson, rapine, and plunder;

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HIGH POWERED AUTOMOBILES USED BY REBELS IN CAPTURING CIUDAD VICTORIA.

he is a popular leader of desperate men who wish to loot, steal and destroy. He is the ideal bandit leader but has not a single quality of the national ruler. He has no sense of honor; his promise has no binding force. It would be as impossible for foreign nations to deal with a government headed by Zapata as with anarchy itself. Zapata is a danger to any government. He will no doubt cause trouble in the future. When once a leader, with money at his disposition and a trained army, holds power in Mexico, his first duty will be to clear the country west of Mexico of Zapata and his followers. The man is plausible; he can state the crying needs of the common people forcibly; he can easily point out the errors of Madero and the failure of Huerta to keep his promises, but he shows none of the qualities of constructive statesmanship.

PASCUAL OROZCO

Would Pascual Orozco do? It is true that today's papers announce his death; whether the news prove true or not, it is worth while to consider the question. A popular war-correspondent draws a pleasing picture of Pascual Orozco as a school boy studying his book and gaining a broader outlook, an ideal for realization. Several other Americans seem to have been favorably impressed with the famous guerilla leader when they saw him with Madero in front of Juarez. But would he do as president? Nothing of his public career indicates it. No doubt Orozco learned to read and write; through that learning undoubtedly he gained a broader view. But that training and his broader view led naturally only to the work of *arriero* or convoy for ore or bullion on its way from the mines where produced to a point of shipment. There is nothing to suggest that he had any higher ambitions or that he grappled with public questions. When Madero's revolution broke out, Pascual Orozco promptly joined with it. To him Madero owed considerable. He was daring in his attacks upon the federal soldiers. He was, however, badly disciplined, a man of variable impulses. He seems to have had little loyalty, less of sentimental friendship.

When Madero was in power, Pascual Orozco went to the capital city to receive his share of profit. Given fifty thousand dollars, he demanded fifty thousand more; failing to secure it, he became an enemy of the Madero regime. It was easy for him to secure leadership and money from the Terrazas interests. He fought, in other words, for whoever would pay him best. When the Carranza revolution gained headway, there was nothing left for him that promised cash except federal leadership, and we find him in Huerta's forces. Nothing that Pascual Orozco has ever done warrants the assumption that he is presidential timber.

"PANCHO" VILLA

What about General Villa? Strikingly in the events of the last three years in Mexico it has been shown that the only safe man is a dead man. Two men were spared by Madero when their lives were forfeited. Madero himself had reason to regret the reprieve he granted Felix Diaz; Huerta today has profound reason to regret the reprieve granted by Madero to General Villa. The man has proved a good soldier; he has always been known as one of bandit instincts. He is cruel, pitiless. It is not impossible that he might emerge from the present conflict with considerable military glory. If he does, it is to be expected that he may aspire to power in government. Villa as president of Mexico is conceivable; but his elevation to the highest office of the nation would be unfortunate. Should it take place, his period of control would certainly be limited; he might perhaps fill up time until the preparation of a more worthy candidate.

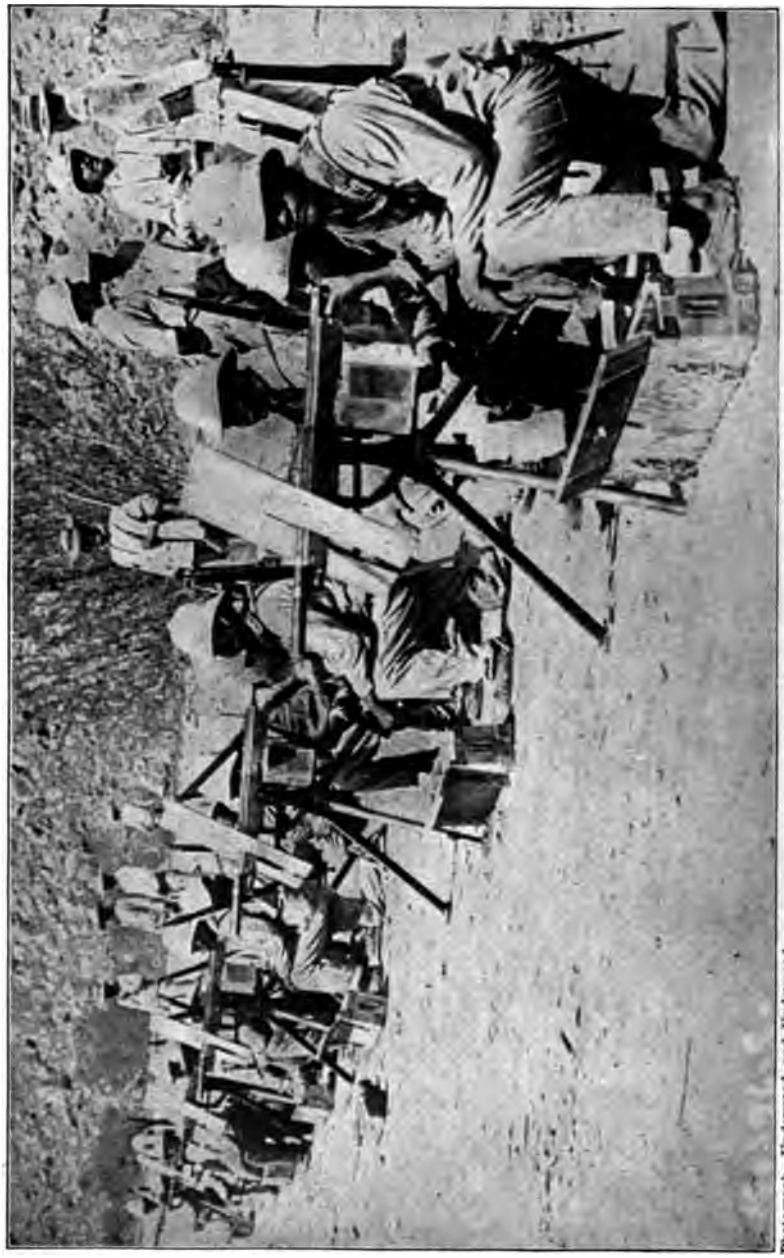
FELIX DIAZ

There has been much talk of Felix Diaz for the position. No one who knows the man and the nation could talk seriously of it. Newspaper writers have asserted that he is a "popular idol." He is not, never has been, never will be a popular idol. He was a heavy burden for his uncle through the years. A man with absolutely no mental power, without ideas, without ideals.

Porfirio Diaz was ready to do much for him. Felix Diaz was sent to Chile as the diplomatic representative of Mexico; his stay was short. His name was tentatively suggested several times for governor of the State of Oaxaca, or of Puebla; when it is remembered that in those days the old man made governors and unmade them at will, the fact that Felix Diaz was actually never made governor of either state proves how thoroughly his uncle recognized his lack of fitness and his enormous unpopularity. He was, indeed, sometime the chief of police of the City of Mexico; but he was a misfit. After every failure to place him elsewhere, Porfirio Diaz regularly made his nephew the head of his own personal bodyguard, where he could at once take care of him and see that he did a minimum of harm. His lack of judgment and of skill in developing a plan of action were strikingly brought out in his fiasco at Vera Cruz in October, 1912. His vacillation, weakness of character, and cowardice, came out fully in connection with his futile mission to Japan, and the events which grew out of it. Only the most ignorant observer of Mexican affairs could seriously urge him as a presidential possibility.

VASQUEZ GOMEZ

There is more propriety in the mention of the Vasquez Gomez brothers. Emilio and Francisco Vasquez Gomez have been leaders in the democratic struggle which has now been waging in Mexico since 1910. They have been conspicuous in the councils of the anti-reëlection leagues. One of them was the legitimate candidate for vice-president upon the ticket with Madero for president. One of them has been more than once proclaimed provisional president of Mexico; the proclamation has always taken place when the man himself was in a place of safety—El Paso or near the border. One or the other has held position in connection with the movements of the day. No one denies that they are men of ability. They speak well perhaps, certainly write well, and have high conceptions and ideals. But experience has failed to prove that they are strong men of



Photograph, Underwood and Underwood

CONSTITUTIONALIST SOLDIERS, WITH MACHINE GUNS.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

courage. They can plan and advise; it is doubtful whether they can lead, control. They are men for cabinet offices or heads of bureaus, not presidents.

FEDERICO GAMBOA

There is no question that Federico Gamboa is a man of power. As a literary man, he has few if any superiors in the Republic. He has had wide experience in the field of diplomacy; he had been connected with legations in Latin America, in Europe, in the United States. He can be trusted to deal with delicate and complicated matters of statesmanship. There is no question that in the recent exchange of diplomatic papers between Mexico and ourselves, he beat us absolutely. With all due respect to our own peerless leader, whom I highly appreciate and respect, Mr. Bryan is no match for Senor Gamboa. It is legitimate, in looking over the field, for a man of power and leadership, to think of him. Under ordinary circumstances, Gamboa would not be outside the range of presidential possibilities. If Mexico were at peace, and a duly-elected president were going out of power at the termination of his period of office, and a new election were to take place under peaceful circumstances, Gamboa would be a proper and strong candidate. It is doubtful whether he is a man of sufficient strength and energy, push, enterprise, and magnetism to succeed fully and lead a party at this time. Still, as a compromise between different factions, where it was recognized that all must yield something and unite behind a leader who represented no strong group, he is not inconceivable.

DE LA BARRA

There is no doubt that many believe that the only hope of Mexico in the present crisis is de la Barra. In his political history and natural connections he is affiliated of course with the old regime. It is likely that his natural inclinations connect him with what fragments of the old *cientifico* group remains. He is by nature conservative. When ambassador at Washing-

ton, he made few mistakes, and his diplomatic training is good. During the interim between the Diaz and Madero administrations, he proved himself a man of considerable character and with some qualities of leadership. He did not like Madero nor the new order; but he submitted to many things which he must have found most hard to bear, and emerged from a severe trial with a very considerable respect from the general public. He is far from being a man of the pronounced views and strong ideals desirable at the present moment. If in office, he would be forced continually to make concessions to popular demands. It is possible that he has learned the lesson and is wise enough to profit by it. If so, there is actually no stronger candidate at present in sight. In the line of natural development, he seems to be the most likely man. There is danger that he would fail to rise to the full height of the occasion. It is not, however, impossible, and Mexico's friends might wish that he had a chance to prove his fitness.

HUERTA

Victoriano Huerta, the present incumbent, has been made a serious problem. His treachery aroused a feeling of natural repugnance in American minds; his blood-stained hands, red with the blood of the man who depended upon him and to whom he owed wealth, power, and position, shocked us. From certain points of view he is a monster. At first he had no great following, and could not have been considered strong in his position. There is little doubt that, left to himself, he would have been promptly eliminated. We need not have recognized his government until it proved itself worthy of recognition through itself. Had we been content simply with non-recognition, the Mexican people would have made short shrift of him. He would have been as certainly hurled from power in a few weeks as the morrow's sun will rise. But he was made a martyr; he was put into the position of the leader of a people who were browbeaten and directed from outside. Our attitude aroused sympathy, which the man himself would probably never have gained. He has developed unexpected strength; he has in many ways

proved himself a leader; he is a more respected and respectable figure today than months ago. In fact, many persons in Mexico, in the United States, in Europe, today consider Huerta a strong man, and look on him as something of a ruler. A much worse policy might be pursued than to supply him with the sinews of war and to see what he could do in republican Mexico. He is a man of the Diaz type; in a sense he is an anachronism. A man of the Diaz type is not the ideal leader for the moment. It is doubtful, however, whether the ideal leader exists or can be summoned forth. It is certain that the savior of Mexico in the future, as in the past, will be a man with Indian qualities—stubbornness, persistence, inflexibility. If the Huerta of today, vastly stronger than the Huerta of a year ago, is not the proper leader, he will be eliminated by the natural operation of causes within Mexico. It is doubtful whether the country or the world will be advantaged by his elimination through influences from without. It is likely, however, that Huerta cannot withstand the powerful American influence against him. He has been crippled financially by it; probably he cannot maintain himself. The pity is that the financial crippling, brought about intentionally by outside influence, has not stopped with the bloody-handed usurper.

CARRANZA

Last of the long list is Venustiano Carranza. He has been called the origin of the Madero revolution. In reality, the attempt to nominate him as an independent candidate for governor of the State of Coahuila was Francisco Madero's first actual step in practical politics. The effort failed; the election was a farce. Carranza remained for the time being in private life. Afterward he was with Madero. With the success of the Madero movement, Carranza became governor of Coahuila. Geographical relations, personal friendship, and political experience indicated him as the leader of the effort to avenge the death of the martyr president. He is a man of energy. He has clean-cut ideas. His leadership has met with much success. Whether as a civilian he can hold his own against the soldier

Villa remains to be seen. He may of course be completely shelved by the military leader. He showed unexpected strength of character and a true loyalty in his dealings with President Wilson's privately appointed embassy; as the head of a provisional government, he must know with whom he deals. His announcement that he would execute Huerta, Diaz, Blanquet, Mondragon, Garcia Granados, Rodolfo Reyes and Francisco de la Barra, when he comes actually to power shocks us, but would shock few Mexicans. It is unlikely too that, once in power, he would actually carry out his threat. Madero made similar promises but failed to keep them. It is quite probable that Carranza really would execute Huerta and Diaz if he could place hands upon them. It is quite certain if Carranza enters the capital city Felix Diaz would be in a place of safety; it is less likely that Huerta would fly from his impending doom. Carranza's warning to foreign countries against loans made to the Huerta government is a common expedient among revolutionaries. It is neither a masterstroke of statesmanship nor political folly. History has shown that such threats are rarely carried through; if Carranza were actually to come to power, after some diplomatic squirming, he would be likely to recognize the foreign claims and meet the obligations.

THE QUALITIES NECESSARY

If Huerta falls, whoever comes to power must be a compromise. He must in part represent the past with all its wrongs; he must, however, if he is to remain in control, be ready to yield to the growing demands for change. He must have some record of achievement—either as a military man or as a leader of reform; and he must have some name. He must have something of the iron hand, must to some degree override the constitution, must act with force in crises—but he must have thoroughly learned his lesson from the events of the past three years. He must be genuinely Mexican—not too favorable to the United States, and yet ready to be just to us and to the world. He must needs grapple with great problems. He must realize

to what degree foreign investment in his country is a danger to the nation; he must check the present inflow of outside capital without jeopardizing the rights of that already there; he must encourage the development of natural resources through nationalism. He must lead in the movement to restore lands to little owners, which have been taken from them by unjust laws, not understood by those to whom they were applied. He must decide to what degree legitimate old estates should be divided and sold on favorable terms to little holders. He must lead in the movement of general education of the people. He must know the meaning of a rising middle class. He must realize that one term of office of six years' duration is the period of his actual usefulness and should emphasize the cry of anti-reëlection, applying it absolutely to himself. He should reiterate the motto of effective suffrage and should use the power of his office to train the people in the exercise of their constitutional right of voting. He should deal with the hideous question of peonage. The problems that face him are problems that are analogous to our own; they, however, are *Mexican* problems, and must be dealt with from the *Mexican* point of view.

We have considered the list of known men who stand before us. But the man for the crisis may be a new man. There are men who are not conspicuous, who may meet the needs. A man like Ahumada may arise and develop into power. As likely as not, the right man, when he comes, may not come through an election. He is more likely to come out of strife and struggle; he is likely to seize power. The sooner he comes, the better. When he comes, it is to be hoped that we will not make impossible demands as the condition of his recognition.

INTERVENTION

A WILD PROJECT—EFFECT OF ANNEXATION—COST OF WAR—WE WILL NOT COLONIZE MEXICO—PROTECTION OF INVESTMENTS—POSITION OF THE INVESTOR—A MEXICAN PROBLEM ONLY—A MIDDLE CLASS NEEDED—PERSONAL POLITICS—TYPE OF NATION LIKELY.

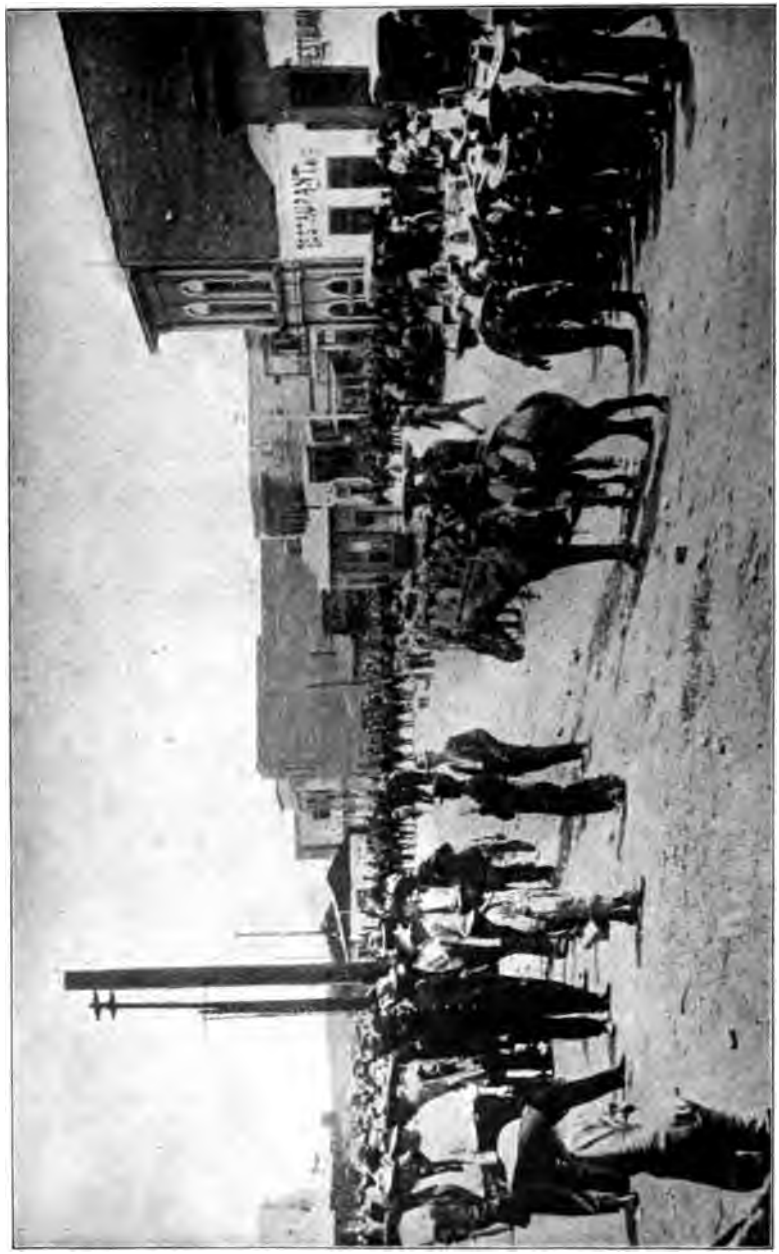
SHOULD we intervene? Must we intervene? No, a thousand times no, for their sake and for ours, we should keep hands off. Every right thinking American who knows Mexico, and who knows the points involved, must thank the President for his insistency upon maintaining peace. We may regret the exact form of his policy, we may feel that he has made mistakes, but his fundamental principle is right,—there ought to be no war,—and intervention is war.

A WILD PROJECT

It is impossible for us to march to Mexico City, seize it, appoint a provisional president, and withdraw. There is no use of trying to deceive ourselves and others. If we go to Mexico, we must occupy the whole republic. There is no possible alternative. To enter Mexico and occupy will take time, money and frightful toll of human life. It would be unjust aggression. Its final result would involve land grabbing. We would either hold the whole of the republic, or we would cut off the northern states and add them to our area. There are of course plenty who look upon this as our manifest destiny. It is unfortunate if it should prove manifest destiny, because it would spell our ruin.

EFFECT OF ANNEXATION

To add Mexico to our republic or to add the northern tier of states would be infinitely bad for us. It would be the greatest of misfortunes for Mexico and the Mexicans. We are fond of talking of assimilation. We have never assimilated anything.



Photograph, Underwood and Underwood

CONSTITUTIONALISTS, NOGALES. AFTER MEETING BETWEEN CARRANZA AND HALE.

Photographed by Underwood and Underwood

MEXICAN REFUGEES AT PRESIDIO, TEXAS.

We have not assimilated Arizona and New Mexico after sixty-five years of ownership. We have not assimilated the millions of negroes in the South. We have not assimilated the Filipino, nor the Hawaiian, nor the Porto Rican. We have not only not assimilated them, we are nationally today the weaker for their presence.

To take over all or part of Mexico would be no advantage to its people, would harm us, and would profit only a handful of individuals to whom we owe no great consideration.

COST OF WAR

The war for the conquest of Mexico has been much discussed. Some claim that it would require 600,000 soldiers and a period of ten years; others claim that it could be done with 150,000 men and two years' time. This is not the actual question, but only selfish and commercial features of the problem. It is not the size of the army, nor the expense, nor the time involved which are significant. Far more important is the fact that such a war of conquest is unjust in itself. There is nothing in the conditions of the moment to excuse it. The price of war is not a mere question of dollars and time,—it is more seriously a question of blood and brutalizing. A nation which issues from a war of conquest against a smaller, poorer nation suffers far more than it inflicts. Its ideals, its character, its life are lowered. How heavily has our nation paid for its inglorious war with Spain. Not only did it cost money and time and blood. Its toll of disease and weakened moral fiber is a far more serious matter; and by it we lost those ideals for which our nation stood through more than a century of independent life. This last was the heaviest part of the price.

WE WILL NOT COLONIZE MEXICO

It is no accident that our Scandinavian emigrants drift to the moraine country of Minnesota; that the Hollanders settle down upon the flat green fields and pastures of Michigan; that the Scotch-Irish settle in our eastern hills; it is just as certainly

no accident that Spaniards drifted to Mexico. They are at home in those surroundings. We never would be. We shall never fill up Mexico. Our migrations will be isothermic and latitudinal. If we should attempt the occupancy of Mexico by means of actual colonization, we should again pay a frightful price, physically, intellectually, morally. We would be changed. Is it worth while for a considerable portion of our population to become Mexican? We have stated the improbability of this migration taking place upon a large scale. To whatever extent it would occur, the American aggregate would lose.

PROTECTION OF INVESTMENTS

The only influence active toward producing intervention and a war of conquest is the investor. We are constantly informed that we must protect American financial interests in Mexico. The investor in Mexico puts his money there because he hopes to gain a return larger than his money should produce. He has a right to do so if he chooses, but he should carry his own risk. He knows there is a risk; he has no right to ask us to carry that risk for him. If every penny of American capital invested in Mexico were wiped out of existence, there should be no armed interference on our part. Two other points affect the question. We are often told that $900,000,000 of American capital is invested in Mexico. It is certain that much of this is fictitious value. There are plenty of companies in Mexico capitalized at $100,000 which have never had $20,000 actual money put in the enterprise. As Turner says, "Oceans of water" in the great railway merger. We of course think of piling up claims against Mexico to the extent of $900,000,000. How much legitimate claim would be left after a Hague court investigated that? Again, it must be remembered that a very large amount of this American capital is invested in "tainted" concessions. Most of the foreign enterprises favored during the regimes of Diaz and Madero were never submitted for approval to the Mexican people and are not to their advantage. It is interesting by the way to notice that the constitutionalists threaten to

deal seriously with this whole matter of tainted concessions. Would that they might! But if they should, will our Government support them?

POSITION OF THE INVESTOR

The investor in Mexico deserves no sympathy from us; to the degree that he places his money yonder, he is unpatriotic. He has a right, of course, to place his money where he pleases, yet a true patriotism and an enlightened appreciation of conditions would lead him to keep money here. There is not as yet a single state in our whole Union, not even New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio, which is legitimately developed. We have as yet no genuine conception of the development of any area. We have always been cursed by the fact of greater opportunity in a new section. We have drifted here and there in the hope of getting sudden wealth with small outlay of labor. It has been a great misfortune to ourselves. It has had a frightfully destructive influence upon the world at large. It will be a good thing when we are more confined in our possibilities. Real patriotism, not the blatant kind, would lead men to utilize their capital in the development of the region in which they were born.

A MEXICAN PROBLEM ONLY

Mexico and the Mexicans ought to work out their own salvation. It sounds well in newspapers to say that we desire to help Mexico to solve her problems. It is the White Man's Burden. It is meddling. Mexico knows her problems as no outsider can. If they are to be solved, she must solve them. We can best help by solving our own problems, and heaven knows we have enough of these.

Mexico is what it is because of its geography, its climate, its streams, its mountains, valleys, deserts, forests. Its altitudes, its atmosphere, make a people different from ourselves. Its people are Indian, or a mixture of Indian with Spanish. The race qualities are different from ours; feeling is different; sentiment is different; point of view is different. It is impos-

sible for us to think for them, feel for them, act for them, decide their questions. All that we need to do is to keep hands off.

A MIDDLE CLASS NEEDED

Mexico will never be at peace until a middle class arises. It has been a land of very rich and very poor, of masters and slaves. A middle class is rising; it will come. The common people of Mexico are thinking, reading, talking,—more than they have ever done before. Before the Conquest, Mexico was occupied by many small tribes, absolutely separated and hopelessly divided. They were ridden by their rulers and their priests. That was in the old days of paganism. Mexico of today is still a people divided. It is still ridden by rulers, and by priests. If it is to become a great nation, it must be unified. It can only be so through education, thought, and struggle. Its greatest curse has ever been personal politics. In the direction of political parties with definitely presented platforms of principles much of its hope of advancement lies. Notwithstanding the discouraging aspect of the moment, notwithstanding the Madero failure, the Juarez failure, the Guerrero failure,—it has made progress, and it will make progress in these directions.

TYPE OF NATION LIKELY

But no matter how Mexico may advance, it will never be like us,—it ought not to be so. Latin America does not admire our style. She does not look northward for her patterns. James Bryce, in his book on South America, strongly emphasizes the fact that the republics to our south look to Europe for advice, direction, pattern and example. They look to Spain and Portugal, Italy, and above all, to France. There are two types of republics conspicuous in the world at present. When Mexico reaches an equilibrium, and she will if we permit, she will present a nation like the French Republic,—not like the United States.

INTERVENTION

NOT AN UNIQUE ELECTION. MUCH LIKE THOSE OF DIAZ, AND PINO SUARETZ AND OTHERS

LEADING EVENTS IN MEXICAN HISTORY

1518. Expedition of Grijalva to Yucatan.
1519. Cortes lands in Mexico.
1521. Conquest of Mexico achieved: destruction of Tenochtitlan.
1524. Arrival of Franciscan missionaries.
1527. Juan de Zumarraga, first Bishop of Mexico.
1528. First Audiencia in New Spain.
1529. Second Audiencia in New Spain.
1531. Apparition at Guadalupe.
1535. Antonio de Mendoza, first Viceroy of New Spain.
1550. Luis de Velasco, second Viceroy.
1553. University of Mexico founded.
1566. Gaston de Peralta, Viceroy.
1568. Martin de Enriques de Almanza, Viceroy.
1571. Inquisition established in America.
1572. Arrival of Jesuits in Mexico.
1580. Lorenzo Juarez de Mendoza, Viceroy.
1584. Pedro Moya de Contreras, Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy.
1585. Alvaro Manrique de Zuñiga, Viceroy.
1590. Luis de Velasco (2d), Marquis of Salinas, Viceroy.
1595. Gaspar de Zuñiga of Acevedo, Count of Monterey, Viceroy.
1603. Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marquis of Montes Claros, Viceroy.
1607. Luis de Velasco (2d) again Viceroy.
1612. Diego Fernandez de Cordova, Marquis of Guadalcazar, Viceroy.
1621. Diego Carrillo Mendoza y Pimentel, Marquis of Gelves, Viceroy.
1624. Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio, Viceroy.
1635. Lope Diaz de Armendariz, Viceroy.
1640. Diego Lopez Pacheco Cabrero y Bobadillo, Viceroy.
1642. Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Puebla, Viceroy: later Garcia Sarmiento Sotomayor, Count of Salvatierra, Viceroy.
1648. Marcos Lopez de Torres y Rueda, Bishop of Yucatan, Viceroy.
1650. Luis Enriques de Guzman, Count of Alba Liste, Viceroy.
1653. Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, Viceroy.
1660. Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda, Viceroy.

1664. Diego Osorio Escobar y Llamas, Bishop of Puebla, Viceroy; later, Antonio Sebastian de Toledo, Viceroy.
1673. Pedro Nuño Colon de Portugal y Castro, Viceroy; later, Payo de Rivera, Archbishop of Mexico, Viceroy.
1680. Tomas Antonio Manrique de la Cerda, Viceroy.
1686. Melchor Portocarrerro Laso de la Vega, Count of Monclova, Viceroy.
1688. Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva y Mendoza, Viceroy.
1696. Juan de Ortega Montañez, Bishop of Michoacan, Viceroy; later, Jose Sarmiento Valladares, Count of Moteczuma, Viceroy.
1701. Juan de Ortega Montañez, again Viceroy; later, Fernandez de las Cuevas Enriques, Viceroy.
1711. Fernando Alencastro Noroña y Silva, Viceroy.
1716. Baltasar de Zuñiga Guzman Sotomayor y Mendoza, Viceroy.
1722. Juan de Acuña, Viceroy.
1734. Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Archbishop of Mexico, Viceroy.
1740. Pedro de Castro Figueroa y Salazar, Viceroy.
1741. Jose Antonio Villaseñor y Sanchez, Cosmographer of New Spain.
1742. Pedro Cebrian y Augustin, Viceroy.
1746. Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, Viceroy.
1755. Augustin de Ahumada y Villalon, Viceroy.
1760. Francisco Cajigal de la Vega, Viceroy; later, Joaquin de Montserrat, Viceroy.
1763. Louisiana acquired by Spain.
1766. Carlos Francisco de Croix, Viceroy.
1767. Expulsion of Jesuits from Spain and Spanish America.
1771. Antonio Maria de Bucareli y Ursua, Viceroy.
1779. Martin de Mayorga, Viceroy.
1783. Matias de Galvez, Viceroy.
1785. Bernardo de Galvez, Viceroy.
1787. Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, Archbishop of Mexico, Viceroy; later, Manuel Antonio Flores, Viceroy.
1789. Juan Vicente Pacheco de Padilla, Viceroy.
1794. Miguel de la Grua Talamanca, Viceroy.
1798. Miguel Jose de Azanza, Viceroy.
1800. Felix Berenguer de Marquina, Viceroy.
1801. Louisiana returned to France.
1803. Jose de Iturrigaray, Viceroy.

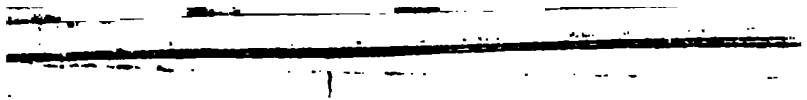
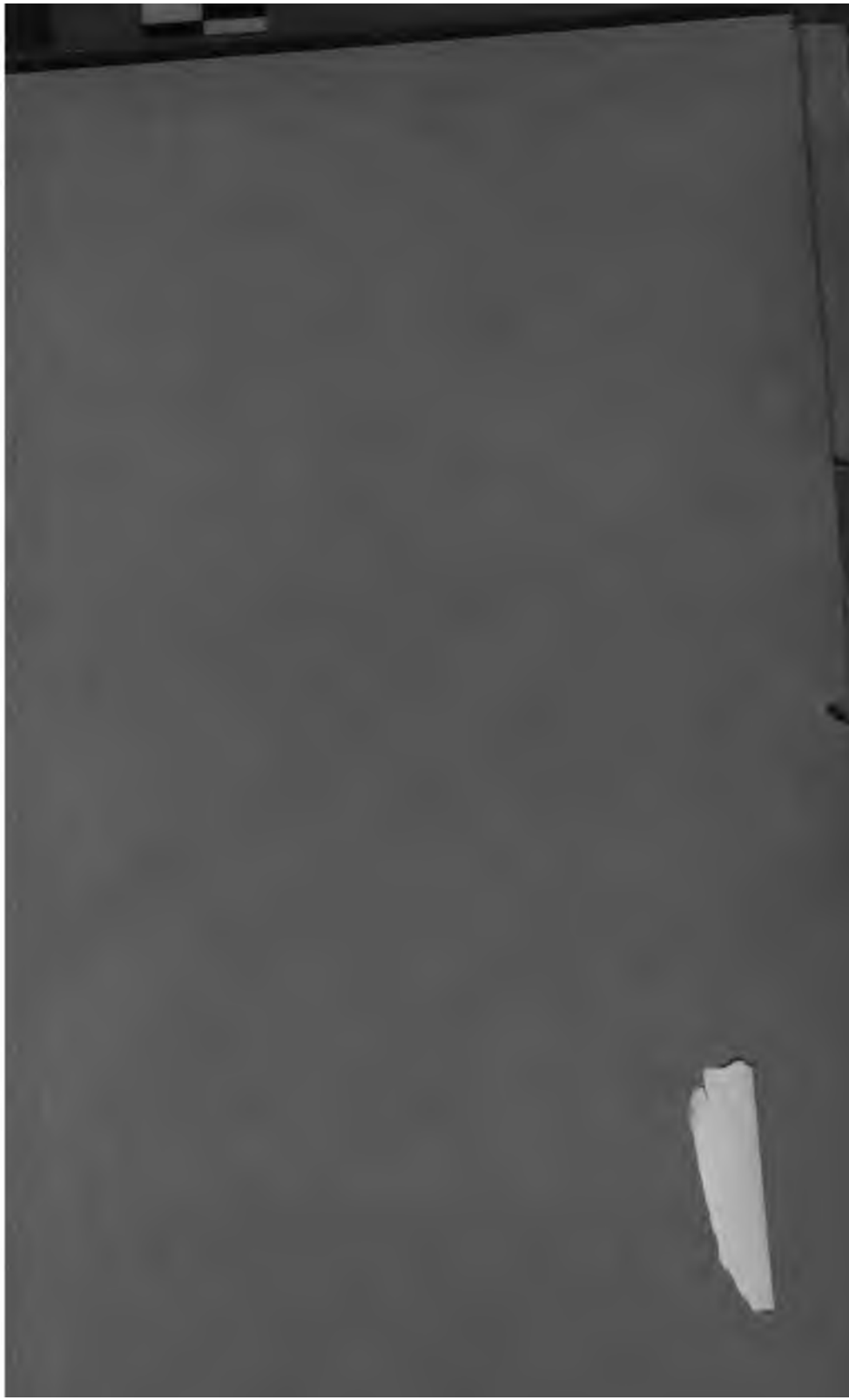
1808. Intervention of Napoleon Bonaparte in Spanish affairs; accession of Ferdinand VII and then of Joseph Bonaparte; Iturrigaray deposed and Pedro Garibay, Viceroy.
1809. Franciso Javier Lizana, Archbishop of Mexico, Viceroy.
1810. Pedro Catani, Viceroy; later, Francisco Javier Venegas, Viceroy. *Grito de Dolores,* Sept. 15-16.
1811. Execution of Hidalgo and his fellows.
1813. Congress of Chilpantzingo; Declaration of Independence and First Constitution.
1815. Jose Maria Morelos executed.
1816. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, Viceroy.
1817. Mina's expedition.
1820. Inquisition abolished.
1821. Francisco de Novella, Viceroy; Plan of Iguala and Treaty of Cordoba; Independence achieved; Regency installed; Juan O' Donoju, last of the Viceroys.
1822. Congress organized. Iturbide emperor, Augustin I.
1823. Abdication of Iturbide.
1824. United States of Mexico; Constitution proclaimed; Victoria Guadalupe (Felix Fernandez), President.
1828. Yorkist and Scottish masonry in conflict; Manuel Gomez Pedraza, President.
1829. Vicente Guerrero, President; Spanish attempt at restoration: Jose Maria Bocanegra, acting-President.
1830. Anastasio Bustamante, President.
1832. Melchor Muzquiz, acting President; Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President; Valentin Gomez Farias, Vice-President.
1835. Constitution of *Las Siete Leyes;* Centralism.
1836. New Constitution effective; General Barragan, acting-President; Jose Justo Corro, acting-President; Spain acknowledges Mexican Independence; Texas secedes.
1840. Gutierrez de Estrada proposes a monarchial government.
1841. Santa Anna, provisional President.
1842. Javier Echavarria, acting President; Santa Anna, provisional President.
1843. *Bases Organicas Politicas* Constitution; extreme Centralism.
1845. Impeachment of Santa Anna; Jose Joaquin Herrera, President; Texas annexed to the United States; war between Mexico and the United States.
1846. Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, President; war of invasion begun; Nicolas Bravo, President; Mariano Salas, President.

1847. Santa Anna, Gomez Farias, and others, President; American forces in possession of Mexican capital.
1848. Jose Joaquin Herrera, President. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.
1851. Mariano Arista, President.
1852. Juan Bautista Ceballos, President; later, Manuel Maria Lombardini, acting President.
1853. Santa Anna, President; proclaims himself perpetual dictator.
1854. Juan Alvarez pronounces; Plan of Ayotla; Exile of Santa Anna.
1855. Juan Alvarez, provisional President, later, Ignacio Comonfort. *Ley Juarez* passed.
1856. *Ley Lerdo* passed.
1857. New Constitution adopted. Ignacio Comonfort, President; reaction under Felix Zuloaga.
1858. Comonfort abdicates; Benito Juarez, as President of Supreme Court, succeeds him; Zuloaga, Migual Miramon, and others attempt a counter-government.
1859. Juarez government in Vera Cruz; War of the Reform.
1860. Juarez returns to the capital.
1861. Juarez elected President; suspension of payments on foreign debts precipitates intervention: Treaty of London.
1862. Convention of Soledad, Conference of Orizaba, and withdrawal of English and Spanish from Mexico; French advance; battle of Puebla.
1863. French advance; capture Puebla and Mexico; Juarez government retreats northward—San Luis Potosi, Saltillo, Monterey; Maximilian becomes Emperor.
1864. Maximilian arrives at Mexico; Juarez government at Chihuahua.
1865. Juarez government at Paso del Norte; United States demands withdrawal of French troops.
1867. End of Empire; execution of Maximilian; Juarez returns to Mexico; is elected constitutional President.
1871. Juarez re-elected.
1872. Death of Juarez; Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, President.
1876. Plan of Tuxtepec; Porfirio Diaz, provisional President; United States delays recognition.
1877. Porfirio Diaz elected constitutional President; mutiny at Vera Cruz; Escobedo's rebellion.
1880. Manuel Gonzales elected President; Gen. U. S. Grant visited Mexico.
1884. Porfirio Diaz elected; second term.
1888. Porfirio Diaz elected; third term.

1889. Mexico participated in First Pan-American Conference at Washington.
1892. President Diaz re-elected; fourth term.
1894. Difficulty with Guatemala; agreement reached, April 1, 1895.
1896. President Diaz re-elected: fifth term.
1899. Mexico raised to a nation of ambassadorial rank. May. Mexico participated in the First Hague Peace Conference.
1900. President Diaz re-elected; sixth term.
1901. Diplomatic relations resumed with the Austro-Hungarian government. Second Pan-American Conference held at the City of Mexico.
1902. Pius claims submitted to the Hague Court; decision against Mexico.
1904. President Diaz re-elected; seventh term; term extended to six years; Ramon Corral elected Vice-President.
Territory of Quintana Roo organized.
——. Gold standard adopted.
——. Mexican railways consolidated under government control.
1906. Mexico participated in the Second Hague Peace Conference.
1907. Mexico participated in Washington Conference upon Central American affairs, which established the High Court at Cartago, Costa Rica. Elihu Root visited Mexico.
1909. Political agitation; Bernardo Reyes sent on military mission to Europe.
1910. Porfirio Diąz re-elected President; eighth term; Ramon Corral re-elected Vice-President. Francisco I. Madero, a presidential candidate.
Nov. 18. Aquiles Serdan incident in Puebla.
20. Outbreak of Madero revolution.
1911. May 10. Ciudad Juarez taken by the insurgents; Madero's provisional government established.
May 25. Porfirio Diaz resigns the presidency; Francisco de la Barra, President interim.
August 2. Vasquez Gomez element forced out of provisional cabinet.
October 1. Madero elected President; Jose Maria Pino Suarez, Vice-President. Inaugurated November 11.
1912. February 1. Emilio Vasquez Gomez named for provisional President by anti-Maderists.
March. Orozco revolution launched.

October 16. Gen. Felix Diaz siezes Vera Cruz; October 23 hi revolution fails.

November-December. Zapatists in continued rebellion, show dangerous activity.

1913. February 9. Diaz-Reyes revolution begins; nine days' battle i the City of Mexico; Madero and Pino Suarez murdered Feb ruary 22-23.

19. Victoriano Huerta recognized provisional President.